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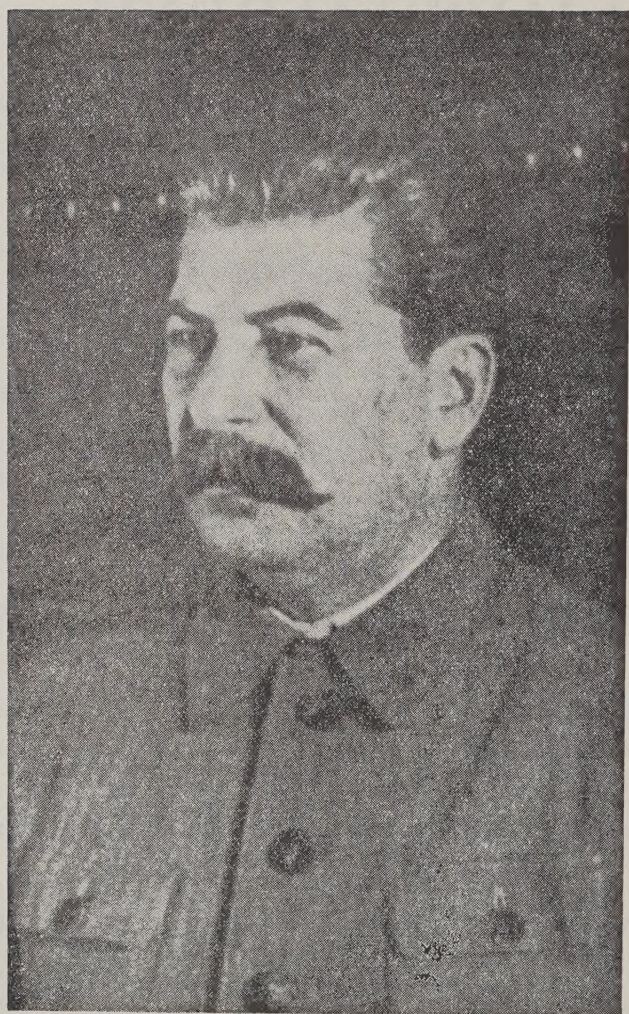
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The Stakhanov Movement

By J. STALIN

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT

SO MUCH has been said here at this Conference about the Stakhanovites, and said so well, that there is in fact very little left for me to say. But since I have been summoned to the platform, I will have to say a few words.

The Stakhanov movement cannot be regarded as an ordinary movement of working men and women. The Stakhanov movement is a movement of working men and women which will go down in the history of our socialist construction as one of its most glorious pages.

Wherein lies the significance of the Stakhanov movement?

Primarily, in the fact that it is the expression of a new wave of socialist competition, a new and higher stage of socialist competition. Why new, and why higher? Because the Stakhanov movement, as an expression of socialist competition, contrasts favorably with the old stage of socialist competition. In the past, about three years ago, in the period of the first stage of socialist competition, socialist competition was not necessarily connected with new technique. At that time, in fact, we had hardly any new technique. The present stage of socialist competition, the Stakhanov movement, on the other hand, is necessarily connected with new technique. The Stakhanov movement would be inconceivable without a new and higher technique. We have before us people like Comrades Stakhanov, Busygin, Smetanin, Krivonoss, Pronin, Vinogradovas and many others—new people, working men and women, who have completely mastered the technique of their jobs, have surpassed it and driven ahead. There were no such people, or hardly any such people, three years ago. These are new people, people of a special type.

Further, the Stakhanov movement is a movement of working men and women, which makes it its aim to surpass the present standards of output, to surpass the existing designed capacities, to surpass the existing production plans and estimates. To surpass them—because these standards have already become antiquated for our day, for our new people. This movement is breaking down the old views on technique, it is shattering the old standards of output, the old designed capacities and the old productions plans, and is demanding the creation of new and higher standards of output, designed capacities and production plans. It is destined to produce a revolution in our industry. That is why the Stakhanov movement is at bottom profoundly revolutionary.

It has already been said here that the Stakhanov movement, as an expression of new and higher standards of output, is a model of that high productivity of labor which socialism alone can give and which capitalism cannot give. That is absolutely true. Why was it that capital-

ism smashed and defeated feudalism? Because it created higher standards of productivity of labor, it enabled society to procure an incomparably greater quantity of products than was the case under the feudal system. Because it made society richer. Why is it that socialism can, should and certainly will defeat the capitalist system of economy? Because it can furnish higher models of labor, a higher productivity of labor than the capitalist system of economy. Because it can give society more products and can make society richer than the capitalist system of economy can.

Some think that socialism can be consolidated by a certain material equalization of people based on a poor man's standard of living. That is not true. That is a petty-bourgeois idea of socialism. In reality, socialism can succeed only on the basis of a high productivity of labor, higher than under capitalism, on the basis of an abundance of products and of articles of consumption of all kinds, on the basis of a prosperous and cultured life for all members of society. But in order that socialism may achieve this aim and make our Soviet society the most prosperous, the country must have a productivity of labor which surpasses the productivity of labor of the foremost capitalist countries. Without this there can be no question of an abundance of products and of articles of consumption of all kinds. The significance of the Stakhanov movement lies in the fact that it is a movement which is smashing the old standards of output because they are inadequate, which in a number of cases is surpassing the productivity of labor of the foremost capitalist countries, and is thus creating the practical possibility of further consolidating socialism in our country, the possibility of converting our country into the most prosperous of all countries.

But this does not exhaust the significance of the Stakhanov movement. Its significance also consists in the fact that it is preparing the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism.

The principle of socialism is that in a socialist society each works according to his ability and receives articles of consumption, not according to his needs, but according to the work he performs for society. This means that the cultural and technical level of the working class is still not a high one, that the distinction between mental and manual labor persists, that the productivity of labor is still not high enough to ensure an abundance of articles of consumption, and, as a result, society is obliged to distribute articles of consumption, not in accordance with the needs of the members of society, but in accordance with the work they perform for society.

Communism represents a higher stage of development. The principle of communism is that in a communist society each works according to his abilities and receives articles of consumption, not according to the work he performs, but according to his needs as a culturally developed individual. This means that the cultural and technical level of the working class has become high enough to undermine the basis of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor; that the distinction between mental labor and manual labor has already disappeared, while productivity of labor has reached such a high level that it is able to

sure an absolute abundance of articles of consumption, and as a result society is able to distribute these articles according to the needs of members.

Some think that the elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor can be achieved by a certain cultural and technical equalization of mental and manual workers by lowering the cultural and technical level of engineers and technicians, of mental workers to the level of average skilled workers. That is absolutely untrue. Only petty-bourgeois chatterboxes can conceive communism in this way. In reality, the elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor can be achieved only by raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of engineers and technical workers. It would be absurd to think that this is unfeasible. It is entirely feasible under the Soviet system, where the productive forces of the country are freed from the fetters of capitalism, where labor is freed from the yoke of exploitation, where the working class is in power, and where the younger generation of the working class has every opportunity of obtaining an adequate technical education. There is no reason to doubt that by such a rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class to undermine the basis of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor, that it alone can ensure the high level of productivity of labor and the abundance of articles of consumption which are necessary in order to begin the transition from socialism to communism.

In this connection, the Stakhanov movement is significant for the fact that it contains the first beginnings, still feeble, it is true, but nevertheless the beginnings of precisely such a rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class of our country.

And, indeed, look at our comrades, the Stakhanovites, more closely. What type of people are they? They are mostly young or middle-aged working men and women, people with culture and technical knowledge, who show examples of precision and accuracy in work, who are able to appreciate the time factor in work and who have learned to count not only the minutes, but also the seconds. The majority of them have passed what is known as the technical minimum examination and are continuing their technical education. They are free of the conservatism and stagnation of certain engineers, technicians and business executives; they are marching boldly forward, smashing the antiquated standards of output and creating new and higher standards; they are introducing improvements into the design capacities and economic plans drawn up by the leaders of our industry; they at times supplement and correct what the engineers and technicians have to say, they often teach the older and impel them forward; for they are people who have completely mastered the technique of their job and who are able to squeeze out of the technique the maximum that can be squeezed out of it. Today the Stakhanovites are still few in number, but who can doubt that tomorrow there will be ten times more of them? Is it not clear that the Stakhanovites are innovators in our industry, that the Stakhanov movement represents the future of our industry, that it contains the seed of the future rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class,

that it opens to us the path by which alone can be achieved those high indices of productivity of labor which are essential for the transition from socialism to communism and for the elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor.

Such, comrades, is the significance of the Stakhanov movement for our socialist construction.

Did Stakhanov and Busygin think of this great significance of the Stakhanov movement when they began to smash the old standards of output? Of course not. They had their own worries—they strove to get their enterprises out of difficulties and to over-fulfil the economic plan. But in seeking to achieve this they had to smash the old standards of output and to develop a high productivity of labor, surpassing that of the foremost capitalist countries. It would, however, be ridiculous to think that this circumstance can in any way detract from the great historical significance of the movement of the Stakhanovites.

The same may be said of those workers who in our country first organized the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in 1905. They, of course, never thought that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would become the foundation of the socialist system. They were only defending themselves against tsarism, against the bourgeoisie, when they created the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. But this circumstance in no way contradicts the unquestionable fact that the movement for the Soviets of Workers' Deputies begun in 1905 by the workers of Leningrad and Moscow in the end led to the rout of capitalism and the victory of socialism on one-sixth of the globe.

THE ROOTS OF THE STAKHANOV MOVEMENT

We are now gathered at the cradle of the Stakhanov movement, at its source. Certain characteristic features of the Stakhanov movement should be noted.

What first of all strikes the eye is the fact that this movement began somewhat of itself, almost spontaneously, from below, without any pressure whatsoever from the administrators of our enterprises. Even more, this movement in a way arose and began to develop in spite of the administrators of our enterprises, even in opposition to them. Comrade Molotov has already told you what torments Comrade Mussinsky, the Archangel saw-mill worker, had to suffer when he worked out new and higher standards of output in secret from the business administration, in secret from the supervisors.

The lot of Stakhanov himself was no better, for in his progress he had to defend himself not only against certain administrative officials, but also against certain workers, who jeered and hounded him because of his "new-fangled ideas". As to Busygin, we know that he almost paid for his "new-fangled ideas" by losing his job at the factory, and it was only the intervention of the shop superintendent, Comrade Sokolinsky, that helped him to remain at the factory.

So you see, if there was any kind of action at all on the part of the administrators of our enterprises, it was not to help the Stakhanov movement but to hinder it. The Stakhanov movement, therefore, arose

and developed as a movement coming from below. And just because it arose of itself, just because it comes from below, it is the most vital and irresistible movement of the present day.

Mention should further be made of another characteristic feature of the Stakhanov movement. This characteristic feature is that the Stakhanov movement spread over the whole face of our Soviet Union not gradually, but at an unparalleled speed, like a hurricane. How did it begin? Stakhanov raised the standard of output of coal five or six times, if not more. Busygin and Smetanin did the same—one in the sphere of machinery construction and the other in the shoe industry. The newspapers reported these facts. And suddenly, the flames of the Stakhanov movement enveloped the whole country. What was the reason? How is it that the Stakhanov movement spread so rapidly? Was it perhaps because Stakhanov and Busygin were great organizers, with big contacts in the regions and districts of the U.S.S.R., and because they themselves organized this movement? No, of course not! Was it perhaps because Stakhanov and Busygin have ambitions to become great figures in our country and they themselves carried the sparks of the Stakhanov movement all over the country? That is also not true. You have seen Stakhanov and Busygin here. They spoke at this conference. They are simple and modest people without the slightest ambition to acquire the laurels of national figures. It even seems to me that they are somewhat embarrassed by the scope the movement has acquired, beyond all their expectations. And if, in spite of this, the match thrown by Stakhanov and Busygin was sufficient to start a conflagration, it means that the Stakhanov movement is absolutely ripe. Only a movement that is absolutely ripe, and merely awaits a jolt for it to burst free, can spread with such rapidity and grow like a snowball.

Why is it that the Stakhanov movement proved to be absolutely ripe? What are the causes for its rapid spread? What are the roots of the Stakhanov movement? There are at least four such causes.

1. The basis of the Stakhanov movement was first and foremost a radical improvement in the material welfare of the workers. Life is improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous. And when life is joyous, work goes well. Hence the high rates of output. Hence the heroes and heroines of labor. That, primarily, is the root of the Stakhanov movement. Had there been a crisis in our country, had there been unemployment—the scourge of the working class—if people in our country had lived badly, drably, joylessly, we should have had no Stakhanov movement. Our proletarian revolution is the only revolution in the world which had the opportunity of showing the people not only its political results but also material results. Of all workers' revolutions we know only one which achieved some measure of power. That was the Paris Commune. But it did not last long. True, it endeavored to smash the fetters of capitalism, but it did not have time enough to smash them, and still less time to show the people the beneficial material results of revolution. Our revolution is the only one which not only smashed the fetters of capitalism and brought people freedom, but also succeeded in creating for the people the material

conditions for a prosperous life. Therein lies the strength and invincibility of our revolution. It is a good thing, of course, to drive out the capitalists, to drive out the landlords, to drive out the tsarist henchmen, to seize power and achieve freedom. That is very good. But, unfortunately, freedom alone is far from enough. If there is a shortage of bread, a shortage of butter and fats, a shortage of textiles, and if housing conditions are bad, freedom will not carry you very far. It is very difficult, comrades, to live on freedom alone. In order to live well and joyously, the benefits of political freedom must be supplemented by material benefits. The distinctive feature of our revolution is that it brought the people not only freedom, but also material benefits and the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life. That is why life has become joyous in our country, and that is the soil from which the Stakhanov movement sprang.

2. The second source of the Stakhanov movement is the fact that there is no exploitation in our country. People in our country do not work for exploiters, for the enrichment of parasites, but for themselves, for their own class, for their own, Soviet society, where government is wielded by the best members of the working class. That is why labor in our country has social significance and is a matter of honor and glory. Under capitalism labor bears a private and personal character. You have produced more—well, then, receive more, and live as best you can. Nobody knows you, or wants to know you. You work for the capitalists, you enrich them? Well, what do you expect? That is why they hired you, so that you should enrich the exploiters. You do not agree with that? Well, join the ranks of the unemployed and exist as best you can. We shall find others, more tractable. That is why people's labor is not valued very highly under capitalism. Under such conditions, of course, there can be no room for a Stakhanov movement. But the case is different under the Soviet system. Here the man who labors is held in esteem. Here he works not for the exploiters, but for himself, for his class, for society. Here the man who labors cannot feel neglected and solitary. On the contrary, the man who labors feels himself a free citizen of his country, in a way a public figure. And if he works well and give society all he can—he is a hero of labor and is covered with glory. Obviously the Stakhanov movement could have arisen only under such conditions.

3. The fact that we have a new technique must be regarded as the third source of the Stakhanov movement. The Stakhanov movement is organically bound up with the new technique. Without the new technique, without the new mills and factories, without the new machinery, the Stakhanov movement could not have arisen. Without new technique, standards of output might have been doubled or trebled, but not more. And if the Stakhanovites raised the standards of output five and six times, it means that they rely entirely on the new technique. It thus follows that the industrialization of our country, the reconstruction of our mills and factories, the new technique and the new machinery were one of the causes that gave rise to the Stakhanov movement.

4. But new technique alone will not carry you very far. You may have first-class technique, first-class mills and factories, but if you have not the people capable of harnessing that technique, you will find that your technique is just bare technique. In order that new technique may produce results, people are required in addition, cadres of working men and women capable of taking charge of the technique and advancing it. The birth and growth of the Stakhanov movement mean that such cadres have already arisen among the working men and women of our country. About two years ago the Party said that having built new mills and factories and supplied our enterprises with new machinery, we had performed only half the job. The Party then said that enthusiasm for the construction of new factories must be supplemented by enthusiasm for mastering these factories, that only in this way could the job be completed. Apparently, the mastering of this new technique and the growth of new cadres have been proceeding during these two years. It is now clear that we already have such cadres. It is obvious that without such cadres, without these new people, we would never have had a Stakhanov movement. Hence the new people, working men and women who have mastered the new technique, constituted the force that shaped and advanced the Stakhanov movement.

Such are the conditions that gave rise to and advanced the Stakhanov movement.

NEW PEOPLE—NEW STANDARDS OF OUTPUT

I have said that the Stakhanov movement developed not gradually, but like an explosion which shattered some sort of a dam. Apparently, we had to overcome certain barriers. Somebody was hindering it, somebody was holding it back; and then, having gathered strength, the Stakhanov movement broke through these barriers and swept over the country.

What was wrong? Who exactly was hindering it?

It was the old standards of output, and the people behind these standards that were hindering it. Several years ago our engineers, technical workers and business managers drew up certain standards of output adapted to the technical backwardness of our working men and women. Since then several years have elapsed. During this period people grew up and acquired technical knowledge. But the standards of output remained unchanged. Of course, these standards now proved out of date for our new people. Everybody is now denouncing the existing standards of output. But, after all, they did not fall from the skies. And the point is not that these standards of output were set too high at the time they were drawn up. The point primarily is that now, when these standards have already become antiquated, attempts are being made to defend them as modern standards. People are clinging to the technical backwardness of our working men and women, guiding themselves by this backwardness, basing themselves on this backwardness, until matters finally reach a pitch when people begin to play at backwardness. But what is to be done if this backwardness is becoming a thing of the past? Are we going to worship our backwardness and turn it into an ikon, a fetish? What is to be done if the working men

and women have already managed to grow and to gain technical knowledge? What is to be done if the old standards of output no longer correspond to reality, and our working men and women have already managed in practice to exceed them five or ten times? Have we ever taken an oath of loyalty to our backwardness? It seems to me we have not, have we, comrades? Did we ever assume that our working men and women would remain backward forever? We never did, did we? Then what is the trouble? Is it that we have not the courage to smash the conservatism of certain of our engineers and technicians, to smash the old traditions and standards and allow free scope to the new forces of the working class?

They talk about science. They say that the data of science, the data contained in technical handbooks and instructions contradict the demands of the Stakhanovites for new and higher standards of output. But what kind of science are they talking about? The data of science have always been tested by practice, experience. Science which has severed contact with practice, with experience—what sort of science is that? If science were the thing it is depicted to be by certain of our conservative comrades, it would have perished for humanity long ago. Science is called science just because it does not recognize fetishes, just because it does not fear to raise its hand against the obsolete and antiquated, and because it lends an attentive ear to the voice of experience, of practice. If it were otherwise, we should have had no science at all; we should have had no astronomy, say, we would still have had to get along with the outworn system of Ptolemy; we should have had no biology, and we would still be comforting ourselves with the legend of the creation of man; we would have had no chemistry, and we would still have had to get along with the auguries of the alchemists.

That is why I think that our engineers, technical workers, and business managers, who have already managed to lag a fairly long way behind the Stakhanov movement, would do well if they ceased to cling to the old standards of output and readjusted themselves in a real and scientific manner to the new way, the Stakhanov way.

Very well, we shall be told, but what about standards of output in general? Does industry need them, or can we get along without any standards at all?

Some say that we no longer need any standards of output. That is not true, comrades. More, it is foolish. Without standards of output, planned economy is impossible. Standards of output are moreover necessary in order to raise the backward masses to the level of the more advanced. Standards of output constitute a great regulating force, which in production organizes the masses of the workers around the foremost elements of the working class. We therefore need standards of output; not those, however, that now exist, but higher ones.

Others say that we need standards of output, but that they must immediately be raised to the level of the achievements of people like Stakhanov, Busygin, the Vinogradovas and the others. That is also not true. Such standards would be unreal at the present time, since working men and women with less technical knowledge than Stakhanov and

ygina could not fulfil these standards. We need standards of output which are somewhere midway between the present standards of output and the standards achieved by people like Stakhanov and Busygin. For example, Maria Demchenko, the "five hundreder" in sugar beets, whom everybody knows. She achieved a harvest of over 500 centners* of sugar beets per hectare.** Can this achievement be made the standard of harvest yield for the whole sugar beet production, say, in the Ukraine? No, it cannot.

It is too early to speak of that. Maria Demchenko secured over 500 centners from one hectare, whereas the average harvest this year for sugar beets in the Ukraine, for instance, is 130 or 132 centners per hectare. The difference, as you see, is not a small one. Can we set the standard of sugar beet yield at 400 or 300 centners? Every expert in this field says that this cannot be done yet. Evidently, the standard for sugar beets per hectare for the Ukraine in 1936 must be set at 200 or 250 centners. And this is not a low standard, for if it were fulfilled it would give us twice as much sugar as in 1935. The same must be said of the coal industry. Stakhanov exceeded the existing standard of output ten times or even more, I think. To declare this achievement the new standard of output for all those working on pneumatic picks would be impossible. Obviously, a standard must be set which is somewhere midway between the existing standard of output and the standard achieved by the great Stakhanov.

One thing, at any rate, is clear; the present standards of output no longer correspond to reality, they have fallen behind and become a brake on our industry; and in order that there shall be no brake on the coal industry, they must be replaced by new and higher standards of output. New people, new times—new standards of output.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

What are our immediate tasks from the standpoint of the interests of the Stakhanov movement?

In order not to be diffuse, let us reduce the matter to two immediate tasks.

First. The task is to help the Stakhanovites to further develop the Stakhanov movement and to spread it in all directions throughout the regions and districts of the U.S.S.R. That, on the one hand. And on the other hand, it is to bridle all those elements among the business managers, engineers and technical workers who obstinately cling to what is antiquated, do not want to advance, and systematically hinder the development of the Stakhanov movement.

The Stakhanovites alone, of course, cannot spread the Stakhanov movement in its full scope over the whole face of our country. Our various organizations must take a hand in this matter and help the Stakhanovites to complete the movement. In this respect the Donetz regional organization has undoubtedly displayed great initiative. Good work is

* A centner equals 110.23 lbs.—*Ed.*

** A hectare equals 2.471 acres.—*Ed.*

being done in this direction by the Moscow and Leningrad regional organizations. But what about the other regions? They, apparently, are still "getting started". For instance, we somehow hear nothing, or very little, from the Urals, although, as you know, the Urals are a vast industrial center. The same must be said of Western Siberia and the Kuzbas, where, to all appearances, they have not yet succeeded in "getting started". However, we need not doubt that our Party organizations will take a hand in this matter and help the Stakhanovites to overcome their difficulties. As to the other aspect of the matter, the bridling of the obstinate conservatives among the business managers, engineers and technical workers—here things will be a little more complicated. We shall have in the first place to persuade these conservative elements in industry, persuade them in a patient and comradely manner, of the progressive nature of the Stakhanov movement and of the necessity of readjusting themselves to the Stakhanov way. And if persuasion does not help, more vigorous measures will have to be adopted. Take, for instance, the People's Commissariat of Railways. In the central apparatus of that Commissariat there was until recently a group of professors, engineers and other experts—among them Communists—who assured everybody that a commercial speed of 13 or 14 kilometers per hour was a limit that could not be exceeded without contradicting "the science of railway operation". This was a fairly authoritative group, who preached their views orally and in print, gave instructions to the various organs of the People's Commissariat of Railways, and in general were the "dictators of opinion" in the traffic departments. We, who are not experts in this sphere, basing ourselves on the suggestions of a number of practical workers on the railways, on our part assured these authoritative professors that 13 or 14 kilometers could not be the limit, and that if matters were organized in a certain way this limit could be extended. In reply, this group, instead of paying heed to the voice of experience and practice and revising their attitude to the matter, launched into a fight against the progressive elements on the railways and still further intensified the propaganda of their conservative views. Of course, we found it necessary to give these esteemed individuals a light tap on the jaw and to very politely remove them from the central apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Railways. And what is the result? We now have a commercial speed of 18 and 19 kilometers per hour. It seems to me, comrades, that at the worst we shall have to resort to this method in other branches of our national economy as well, that is, of course, if the stubborn conservatives do not cease interfering and putting spokes in the wheel of the Stakhanov movement.

Second. The task is, in the case of those business managers, engineers and technicians who do not want to hinder the Stakhanov movement, who sympathize with this movement, but have not yet been able to readjust themselves and assume the lead in the Stakhanov movement, to help them readjust themselves and take the lead in the Stakhanov movement. I must say, comrades, that we have quite a few such business leaders, engineers and technicians. And if we help these comrades, there will undoubtedly be still more of them.

I think that if we fulfil these tasks, the Stakhanov movement will

velop to its full scope, will embrace every region and district of our country and will show us miracles of new achievement.

A FINAL WORD

A few words regarding the present Conference, regarding its significance. Lenin taught us that only such leaders can be real Bolshevik leaders who know not only how to teach the workers and peasants but also how to learn from them. Certain Bolsheviks were not pleased with these words of Lenin. But history has shown that Lenin was 100 per cent right in this field also. And, indeed, millions of toilers, workers and peasants, labor, live and struggle. Who can doubt that these people do not live in vain, that, living and struggling, these people accumulate tremendous practical experience? Can it be doubted that leaders who learn this experience cannot be regarded as real leaders? Hence we leaders of the Party and the government must not only teach the workers but also learn from them. That you, the members of the present Conference, have learned something here at this Conference from the leaders of our government, I shall not undertake to deny. But it also cannot be denied that we, the leaders of the government, have learned a great deal from you, the Stakhanovites, the members of this Conference. Well, comrades, thanks for the lesson, many thanks!

Finally, two words about how it would be fitting to mark this Conference. We in the presidium have conferred and decided that this Conference of the leaders of the government and the leaders of the Stakhanov movement must be marked in some way. Well, we have come to the decision that 100 or 120 of you be recommended for the highest distinction.

Voices: Quite right.

Stalin: If you approve, comrades, that is what we shall do.

Correspondence Between Georgi Dimitroff and the Spanish Socialists

LETTER TO GEORGI DIMITROFF

Valencia, November 12, 1935.

Comrade Georgi Dimitroff,
Moscow.

Dear Comrade:

THE Socialist youth, and with them the entire Spanish proletariat, followed the work of the Seventh Congress with extreme interest, and have read your report on the question of working class unity against the bourgeoisie and fascism with tremendous satisfaction.

Red October in Spain was a demonstration of the revolutionary spirit which inspires the Spanish proletariat, and of their determination to fight shoulder to shoulder for the common cause of all toilers. This revolutionary spirit, Comrade Dimitroff, is still stronger now, and we entertain the hope that unity between the Communist and Socialist comrades will soon become a living reality, and that it will help in the near future to bring about the desire expressed in your report—a desire which seems to us to be profoundly correct and is the result of a clear understanding of all the questions which concern the toilers throughout the world.

At the same time as the Seventh Congress of the Comintern was in session, which so aptly elected you General Secretary of the Communist International, the Fourth Congress of the Valencia Provincial Federation of the Socialist Youth took place in Valencia, at which a fraternal delegation from the Young Communist League was present. At this Congress the youth passed a unanimous resolution, greeted with stormy applause, which expressed the desire of the young Marxists of the province of Valencia, and of the whole of the rest of Spain to issue a joint number of the organ of the Socialist youth of Valencia, the *Adelanta*, and of the organ of the Communists, the *Verdad*. This number is to appear on the 22nd of this month, and will be devoted to the eighteenth anniversary of the glorious Russian revolution. We therefore are addressing the request to you that you will send us a few lines together with your autograph, and also an article for this number, which will also contain articles written by the most prominent Party comrades and members of both youth organizations.

We hope, dear comrade, that you will not refuse to encourage us in the task we wish to achieve in issuing this special number of the *Adelanta-Verdad*.

Please give Comrade Stalin, the worthy leader of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, an expression of the sincere admiration, the great love which we, Spanish revolutionaries, feel towards him and towards the whole of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, for the tremendous socialist

struction which they are carrying through with such self-sacrifice. Once more we wish to express our tremendous respect and devotion to you, Comrade Dimitroff.

Devoted to you and to the cause of the working class, I am,
 (Signature) HUSTO AMUTIO
 Editor-in-Chief, *Adelanta-Verdad*

GEORGI DIMITROFF'S REPLY TO THE SPANISH SOCIALISTS

Comrade Husto Amutio,
 Editor, *Adelanta-Verdad*, Valencia.

ANY thanks for your friendly letter. The fact that the Socialist youth and the entire fighting Spanish proletariat—as you say in your letter—followed the work of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern with extreme interest, and read the reports on working class struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism with tremendous satisfaction is new proof of the fact that in its decisions, this historic Congress really expressed the common interests and common desires and longing of the working class of all countries. I am extremely glad that you, advanced Spanish proletarians, Socialists and Communists, are seriously getting on to fulfillment of the great task of uniting the working class and toilers for the struggle against fascism, war and the capitalist offensive. I am sure that the toilers of Spain, who have on more than one occasion displayed brilliant examples of revolutionary heroism, will proceed in barring the way to fascism by establishing a firm united fighting front of the working class and the people. The road to victory over fascism and over the forces of reaction and counter-revolution in Spain lies through unity between the Socialist and Communist youth, through the realization of united action between the Socialist and Communist Parties, through the liquidation of the split in the trade union movement, and the spread and consolidation of workers' and peasants' influence throughout the whole country.

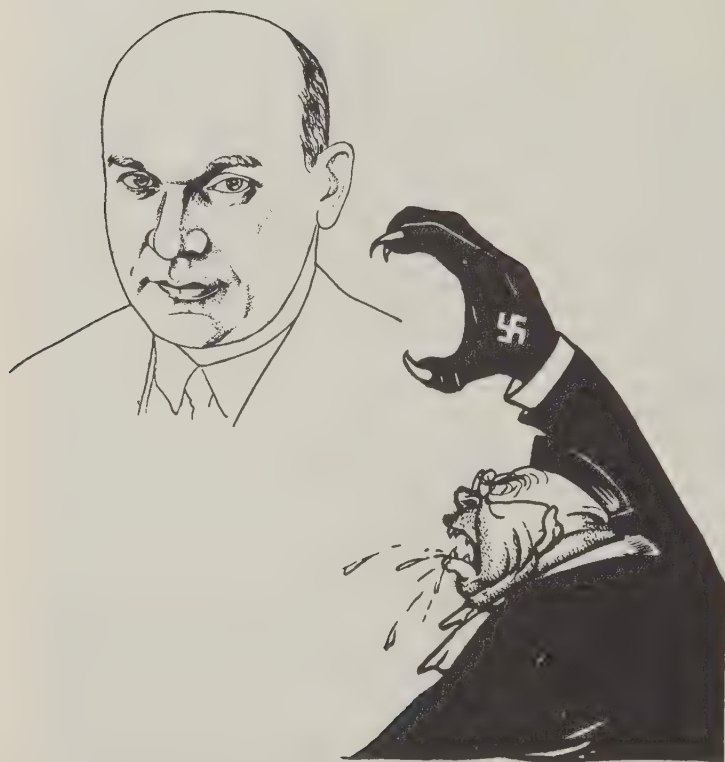
Only a united struggle of Communists, Socialists and Anarcho-Sindicalist workers, marching shoulder to shoulder in the front ranks of all the toilers of town and country will secure the victory of the working class over their common class enemy. The successes of the movement in favor of unity in Spain constitute a big step forward along the road towards the establishment of international working class unity.

I wish you success, dear comrades—Socialists, Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalist workers—in boldly, shoulder to shoulder, overcoming all obstacles to the establishment of unity raised by the splitters of the working class, whether conscious agents of the bourgeoisie or misled opponents of the united front.

I wish you every success in achieving this militant unity, so that Spanish people will not have to experience the horrors which the fascist man people are now undergoing under the yoke of the barbarian fascist regime, and so that in the long run the victory of socialism will be assured in Spain. Fraternal, Bolshevik greetings,

G. DIMITROFF

November 16, 1935.



The Struggle for the Liberation of Thaelmann Is a Fight Against Fascism and War

By WILHELM PIECK

FOR two years and nine months the Hitler government has been collecting "materials" for the trial of Comrade Thaelmann, the leader of the Communist Party of Germany who has been languishing in jail since March, 1933. Just recently an American news agency has been spreading the news from Berlin that the trial of Thaelmann is to begin in November. For the time being there is no official confirmation of this news. We must reckon with the possibility of the Hitler government beginning the trial all of a sudden, so as to catch public opinion in all countries unaware. The Ministry of Propaganda headed by Herr Goebbels is carrying on agitational preparation for this trial. There is a continuous tirade against Bolshevism, lying reports are spread of terrorist acts allegedly committed by Communists. Communists have been tried in Neukoeln on false charges, accompanied by much noise about the "intellectual responsibility" of the leaders of the Communist Party—all of which taken together are to create the pre-conditions according to the plans of Hitler for the sentence of death on Ernst Thaelmann.

The fascist prosecution has required two years and nine months for the concoction of the indictment. It is true that the results of this activity has not yet been published. But the National-Socialist press has already reported on several occasions that the purpose of the indictment is to fix the moral and juridical responsibility for terrorist acts allegedly committed by Communists against the National-Socialists in the years prior to the advent of Hitler to power, on Comrade Thaelmann. The fascist executioners wish to deprive the German proletariat of their best head. The life of Ernst Thaelmann is in tremendous danger!

The liberation of Thaelmann from the clutches of the fascist executioners is the cause not only of the German proletariat, but of the proletariat throughout the world. It is just two years since the international working class developed a huge campaign for the liberation of the great proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Dimitroff. By his splendid Bolshevik behavior before the Leipzig court, Comrade Dimitroff called forth throughout the world a wave of sympathy for himself and the cause which he was defending so heroically. At that time, without records, without any written agreements, there came into being a powerful united front of the workers and toilers throughout the world for the liberation of Dimitroff, and against the fascist incendiaries of the Reichstag. Now, when the united front movement has achieved considerable successes in many countries, the campaign for the liberation of Thaelmann must assume still more powerful dimensions.

The liberation of Ernst Thaelmann is the cause of all supporters of peace and liberty throughout the globe.

The struggle for the liberation of Thaelmann is a struggle against the Hitler fascism which is threatening the German working class and the entire world with its armaments and its military acts of provocation, and which is destroying the culture of an entire people and is trampling liberty and rights under foot. The struggle for the liberation of Thaelmann has been carried on hitherto, but it must reach its highest point now when the Hitler government is preparing to deal a blow against Comrade Thaelmann. Writers, scientists, artists and jurists of world renown are devoting all their strength to this struggle and are publicly branding the Hitler dictatorship with shame for its bloody terror, its obscurantism. It is now essential, in all countries throughout the world, to establish a united fighting front of workers, urban toilers, peasants and intellectuals, for the struggle to secure the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann.

* * *

The Hitler government has long been trying to select a suitable moment for the trial of Comrade Thaelmann. It has been compelled time and time again to postpone the beginning of this trial, because it is afraid, after its experience at Leipzig, that the trial of Thaelmann might lead to the further shattering of the authority of the fascist government. But the world public opinion is indignant that Thaelmann has been languishing in jail for two years and nine months and is demanding of the Hitler government that it liberates him. In such circumstances there is a grave danger that the Hitler government may begin the trial unexpectedly so as to prevent public opinion having the time to sound the alarm in all countries.

It is true that the situation in Germany today, as far as the Hitler government is concerned, is very unfavorable for the conduct of the trial. The dissatisfaction of wide masses of toilers with the fascist regime is growing from day to day. The food shortage and the high cost of living have brought about a sharp deterioration in their standard of living. The toiling masses are faced with a winter which is threatening them with hunger and want. Added to this, there is the monstrous oppression and impoverishment of the population and the menace of imprisonment and terror for every free word uttered. The brazen habits of the Brown bureaucrats, their degenerate mode of living and their haughty behavior are a source of indignation for every freedom-loving citizen. The peasants are resisting the fascist "regulation" of the market, which is undermining the foundation of their existence. The handicraftsmen and traders in the towns are becoming more and more entangled in debts. All the promises made to them by the fascists are deceit; no reference must be made to these promises, unless you wish to find your way into a concentration camp.

It is becoming clearer and clearer to the masses that the food shortage, the shortage of butter, eggs, meat, fats and vegetables are not only the result of a bad harvest, but also of the fact that the Hitler government has cut down the import of all these products from abroad

to the very minimum so as to make use of the currency for the import of raw materials for armament purposes. There is a shortage of products in Germany because too many guns, tanks and airplanes are being manufactured for war. By no means the least important reason why there is a food shortage is the fact that the peasants are holding back the sale of products, because the prices which they are paid for their products by the state do not in any way correspond to the sharply increased prices of cattle fodder.

Among the workers employed in industry there is a rise in the desire to offer resistance to the arbitrary behavior of the employers, a desire to undertake united action against wage cuts, against the reduction of their standard of living as a result of the shortage of food supplies, and the high cost of living. The worker and his wife can see that the purchasing power of wages is falling, that they can purchase an ever decreasing quantity of products and of articles of general necessity with their money. A new economy line is being introduced by the government so as to secure an ever greater worsening of the conditions of the workers, and still further to increase directors' fees and bonuses.

The growth of the resistance of the workers in the factories, and the growth at the same time of the dissatisfaction of the remaining groups of toilers constitute a serious danger for Hitler fascism. The demagogic maneuvers of Hitler fascism designed to deceive the masses, to soothe them and to distract them from real causes of their poverty, are proving less and less capable of stopping the growing resistance of the masses. This is the explanation of the new monstrous wave of terror whose purpose is to give an atmosphere of fear among the masses, and to draw the first shots of the anti-fascist resistance of the masses which is beginning.

For this reason Hitler fascism is once again intensifying the terror against the Communists and all those Germans who are oppositionally inclined towards fascism. All organizations which are not under the direct domination of the fascists represent a menace, and are subject to oppression. The smallest resistance offered to the fascist regime is immediately punished by acts of the most ferocious terror. But fascism is not able in this way either to hold up the rise of the revolutionary movement in Germany. Thanks to the heroic work of the Communist cadres in Germany, the united front of the working class against the fascist dictatorship is beginning to be built up, and the possibilities are growing of the establishment of the anti-fascist people's front.

* * *

Hitler fascism is attempting to hinder this movement for the establishment of the anti-fascist people's front, for the unification of all oppositional forces in a joint struggle, by slandering the Communists. The trial of Thaelmann, in the view of the fascists, is also meant to serve this purpose, the direct preparation for which was the trial of the communists at Neukoeln. The Reichstag fire organized by the National Socialists was, according to their plans, to represent the Communists as the cast-offs of the human race, and in the same way, the Neukoeln

trial is an attempt to throw the blame on the Communists for the shameful deeds committed by the National-Socialists themselves. The Hitler party terrorized the masses of workers by acts of the foulest individual terror. It was responsible for making a system of individual terror, and armed raids in working class living quarters, and political murders. Hundreds of the best German workers were murdered by the fascists. The Hitler dictatorship made this terror the foundation of its state regime.

The Communist Party and the revolutionary workers who fought under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann always rejected individual terror as a means of political struggle. When the fascists (in 1931 and even earlier) proceeded to make systematic raids on working class living quarters, and when the workers were compelled to resist them so as to defend their lives, their families, their honor and their liberty against the fascist bands, and when sentiments arose in the ranks of the working class in favor of paying the fascists in their own coin, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany declared itself, in a number of program statements, against individual terror.

On November 10, 1931, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany published a resolution in which it sharply condemned individual terror, and declared the ideological defense and use of such terror to be incompatible with membership of the Communist Party. In December, 1931, Ernst Thaelmann wrote the following in the *International*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Germany:

"Those workers who as a result of the systematic acts of provocation of the National-Socialists go so far as to defend such methods of individual terror depart from the principle of Marxism-Leninism in relation to the proletarian struggle for liberation. . . . It is superfluous to declare that we Communists are supporters of violence, without which no historical revolution is possible. But this has nothing in common with individual terror. . . . Class-conscious workers who allow themselves to be diverted in this way from carrying out the tasks of mass work, supplant the weapons of Leninism by the methods of the Social-Revolutionaries of the days of the tsarist regime, methods condemned by the history of the working class movement."

On November 10, 1931, Thaelmann wrote the following regarding the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany:

"The decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, dated November 10, against individual terror, however much the bourgeois press tries to disconcert the workers, is by no means a mere tactical maneuver, allegedly not to be taken seriously, and only designed to prevent the Party being suppressed. On the contrary, the main reason which has influenced the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany to adopt this extremely important decision was pre-

cisely their conviction that any underestimation of the Bolshevik struggle against individual terror, and any attitude of conciliation towards the latter would only be of assistance to the National-Socialists, and would thereby help the whole of the bourgeoisie to divert the working class from the decisive revolutionary tasks of the mass struggle."

This political act of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany was quite unequivocally directed against individual terror. Individual terror, murder and acts of provocation are methods of struggle used by the National-Socialist Party, a party of a dying class doomed to destruction. Marxism-Leninism with which the Communist Party is guided in its work has been carrying on a stubborn struggle for decades against individual terror as a method of struggle.

Therefore, the attempts of the Hitler government to make Ernst Thaelmann, the leaders of the Communist Party, responsible for the fact that workers defended themselves against raids made upon them by the National-Socialists, and that on these occasions several National-Socialists paid with their lives, is the grossest demagoguery. In nearly all the trials held under the Hitler regime, as a result of which workers have been condemned to death or to long periods of imprisonment, it has been a case of conflicts between workers and National-Socialists, provoked precisely by the latter. And the National-Socialists honor their heroes just those bandits on whose consciences there lies the responsibility for the greatest number of workers murdered by them.

On orders from Hitler, the heads of the government and the leaders of the National-Socialist Party, a justice of vengeance, guided by hatred and ferocity, is directed against the revolutionary workers.

* * *

Ernst Thaelmann is to be tried and condemned by a so-called "People's Court". It will, however, be no people's court, but a court of the National-Socialist Party. The "judges" will be two officials of the fascist storm or defense detachments, and side by side with them, so as to disavow the National-Socialist party character of this court, there will be a jurist. Such "people's courts" have already passed a number of the most foul and bloody sentences against German workers. These tools of the Hitler government do not stop before any juridical crime. Ernst Thaelmann, deprived of almost all rights of defense, and given over to the arbitrariness of the Brown court officials, is to stand before such a "court". This is how the fascists wish to seal his lips. False documents, bought witnesses, and the foulest lying accusations are to constitute the "evidence".

Two years ago a similar trial took place in Leipzig, in what was at that time the imperial court. The great revolutionary and fighter for Communism, Georgi Dimitroff, was accused of a crime committed by himself, namely, of having allegedly set fire to the German Reichstag building. This fascist act of provocation was used as the grounds for the unheard-of terrorist persecution of Communists and other revolutionary workers. And the Leipzig trial was, late in the day, to justify the murder of hundreds of workers committed by the fascists.

To this end the Hitler government set in circulation the lying story to the effect that the Reichstag fire was allegedly to have served as a signal for the Communists to undertake an armed uprising, and that it had allegedly saved Germany from this catastrophe.

But the fearless struggle of Comrade Dimitroff for Communism transformed the Leipzig trial into a serious defeat for the Hitler government. Dimitroff succeeded in exposing the real secrets of the Reichstag fire, and its organizers. Every question set by him was like powder which exploded the indictment composed of lies and slanders; every question of his exposed the bought witnesses of the prosecution as miserable tools of the fascist regime. In the great conflict between Dimitroff and Goering, the fascist vermin exposed his full baseness, against the indomitable force of socialism in the person of Comrade Dimitroff. Every speech of his was a powerful blow at the fascist regime, and a program document of Communism.

In his first speech before the court on September 23, Georgi Dimitroff in the following words took up an attitude of principle against individual terror:

"It is perfectly true that I am in favor of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . The victory of Communism is, without any doubt, the whole substance of my life. I should like to live at least another 20 years for Communism and then quietly die. But precisely for this reason I am a convinced opponent of the methods of individual terror and the instigation of putsches. And this not from any sentimental or humanitarian consideration. In agreement with our Leninist theory, and with the decisions and discipline of the Communist International, which for me and for every true Communist are the supreme law, I am opposed to individual terror and to putschist activities from the standpoint of revolutionary usefulness, in the interests of the proletarian revolution and of Communism itself."

* * *

The Leipzig trial, thanks to the behavior of Comrade Dimitroff, was not only a defeat for fascism, but also a powerful means of mobilizing the masses in Germany and throughout the world. The campaign for the liberation of Dimitroff and the other accused covered millions of people from among all sections of the people. This was the first attempt at establishing a world front against Hitler fascism. For the first time Social-Democratic and Communist workers met on the basis of joint struggle for one and the same task. For the first time after the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, the workers in Germany were enthused by the common idea of the struggle against fascism, and filled with the will to carry on this struggle.

The words uttered by Dimitroff in the law courts spread like electric sparks through the minds and hearts of the workers. Far beyond the walls of the law courts, far beyond the bounds of Germany, the words of Dimitroff met with hearty response and sympathy. Dimitroff's behavior met with endorsement and sympathy even in the

anks of the National-Socialists, in the ranks of their armed Storm troopers and Defense Detachments. The man who was threatened by death after many months of heavy confinement stood dauntlessly before the fascist judges. Not for one moment was he disturbed as to his own fate, but day in and day out he fought for the cause of the world proletariat, for Communism. The masses, confused and terrorized by fascism, listened carefully when the speeches of Dimitroff, even although cut down and partially distorted, reached their ears through the newspapers and the radio.

Hitler fascism now wishes, at the trial of Thaelmann, to secure its revenge for its defeat at Leipzig. But it does not take the risk of trying this case in the imperial court; it wishes to condemn Ernst Thaelmann by a fascist "people's court". The fascist leaders, especially Goering, have in their time quite openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the way the professional judges carried on the trial in connection with the Reichstag fire. In spite of the fact that these judges terrorized Comrade Dimitroff in the most unheard-of fashion, and had him removed from the court several times for his speeches, nonetheless, in carrying through the trial, they preserved some judicial formalities, thanks to which the accused had some possibility, even though limited, of speaking, and thereby of attacking fascism. Therefore, in the trial of Thaelmann the fascists wish to arrange things differently, and for this reason Thaelmann will be tried by a "people's court".

* * *

Among the working class and other sections of the toilers in Germany, the state of mind before the trial of Thaelmann is not that which existed prior to the Leipzig trial in connection with the Reichstag fire. Whereas at that time the working class was still under the direct influence of the defeat of January 30, 1933, while wide sections of the German people still believed the promises made by the Hitler government, and expected that it would improve their material conditions, now, on the other hand, these illusions are rapidly vanishing. The masses are clearly beginning to be roused. And among the most active section of the German working class the consciousness is ripening of the need for the proletarian united front. The opposition among all sections of the German people already feel that a joint fighting platform is lacking. In the two years and nine months that have passed, the German people have already accumulated much bitter experience. The entire country, a great and cultural country with mighty traditions in the struggle for liberation, has been transformed throughout into a concentration camp. Forced labor, the limitation of the right to move about, persecution of every free thought, ferocious torture applied by the shameful band of the Gestapo (State Secret Police), bans—all this seriously lowered the prestige of the German people in the eyes of the world public opinion. Among the German people there are many already who have a sharp sense of this shame, and are seeking ways for doing something with it. The united front against the fascist dictatorship has not yet been established, and for the time being only a minority are

convinced of the need for struggle, and are engaged in active struggle. But thanks to the heroic struggle of the Communist cadres, thanks to the bold directions of Comrade Dimitroff given at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, ever wider masses are being drawn into the struggle; the united front and the anti-fascist people's front against the fascist dictatorship will be established.

The Leipzig trial regarding the Reichstag fire gave rise to the development of the proletarian movement for the united front which has been growing ever greater since that time.

The struggle for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann, the struggle against the bloody trial begun by the fascists, must give a new spurt to the inclusion of millions of people in the fighting anti-fascist front; it must give a decisive spurt to the establishment of a united front between the Social-Democratic and Communist workers, to the fulfillment of proletarian united action in Germany. The question is more serious than ever before. The struggle for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann demands of the German and international proletariat a still greater exertion of forces than did the struggle for the liberation of Comrade Dimitroff in its time. The menace of war is more serious than ever before, and the military provocations of Hitler fascism are stronger than ever before. A tremendous menace from the side of the fascist dictatorship menaces the urgent vital interests of the German working class, and the question of their defense is more serious than ever before. The blow, which the Hitler government is anxious to deal against Ernst Thaelmann, is directed against the German working class, against the international proletariat. The pogrom agitation against Bolshevism in the speeches made by Hitler and Goebbels at the Nuremberg Congress of the National-Socialist Party was directed against the Soviet Union, the land where socialism is victorious. The Hitler government hopes to make use of the trial of Thaelmann for new slander against the Soviet Union, and hopes thereby to draw other imperialist states into the front of war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Why was Thaelmann arrested, why has he been languishing in jail for two years and nine months, why must he appear before a bloody fascist court, and why is he tried? These are questions which millions of workers in Germany and throughout the world are raising.

Ernst Thaelmann is a worker who has devoted his whole life to the struggle of his class. He has always defended the interests of his comrades, the interests of the workers. It is precisely for this reason that long before the war broke out he was subjected to persecution by the employers, and was compelled to move from one factory to another, and was often without work or bread.

In the first days of the last World War, Ernst Thaelmann, together with millions of his fellow workers, was conscripted into the army, and was in the trenches in the firing line on the western front. But during all this time he remained true to his class and to proletarian internationalism, and carried on an unceasing struggle against the imperialist war.

In the revolutionary years of 1918-19, Ernst Thaelmann was in the

guard of the struggle of the revolutionary workers of Hamburg, the confidence he had in the days before the war. He became the recognized leader of these workers in all their struggles against the employers, against the bourgeoisie.

For more than ten years, Ernst Thaelmann stood at the head of the Communist Party of Germany, which became a mass party under his leadership, with more than 300,000 members, and with more than 1,000,000 supporters. Such a mass party, filled with the spirit of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, is not an organization of plotters, carrying on the struggle by methods of individual terror, but a revolutionary party, which will win the majority of the German proletariat for the struggle against fascism, capitalism and imperialist war, and thereby create the preconditions for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of a free socialist Germany.

The Communist Party has for two years and nine months of the fascist dictatorship undergone a baptism of fire. From the very first day of the dictatorship it has stood firm as a rock. Closely bound up with the factories and working class quarters, the Communist Party of Germany represents the hope of the German proletariat. The best and the most self-sacrificing sons of the German working class are united in the Communist Party of Germany, and are carrying on an heroic struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for the interests of the toiling people. These are the cadres established by the Communist Party of Germany under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann, cadres which have won the honor of the German proletariat, and are the guarantee of the final victory.

* * *

Hitler and Thaelmann represent two worlds, two banners. The banner of Ernst Thaelmann is the fighting banner of the masses of the German workers and of all toilers in town and country, the banner of the struggle for liberty, peace and well-being. The banner of Hitler is the banner of all enemies of the toiling masses, the banner of capitalist exploitation, fascist oppression and war.

German fascism is the advance guard of world reaction, the chief instigator of a new world war, and of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. The struggle of the Communist Party of Germany and of all German anti-fascists against Hitler fascism is for the cause of the entire world proletariat. Ernst Thaelmann is the embodiment of the international anti-fascist struggle. The masses of all countries throughout the world are fighting for his liberation and demanding that Thaelmann be freed.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International elected Ernst Thaelmann as its honorary chairman. The need for the international struggle for his liberation could not be better stressed than in the words of Comrade Georgi Dimitroff, in a talk with representatives of the Congress, when he said the following:

"I shall never tire of repeating again and again that it is a question of honor for the proletariat of every country to make

every possible effort, to exert all its forces, in order to deliver the leader of the German working class, Ernst Thaelmann, from the hands of the fascist executioners."

This call of Comrade Dimitroff must be heard throughout the world. It is the duty of all right-thinking people throughout the world to fight for the liberation of Thaelmann. His conviction and execution would stimulate the fascist bands throughout the world to undertake new onslaughts on the toiling masses. The Hitler government must be faced with a solid front of the whole world. The struggle to liberate Thaelmann is a struggle of the united front of the world proletariat, a struggle of all supporters of peace and liberty against fascism and war. Let a storm of protests and demands that "Thaelmann must be liberated!" rise from all countries, towns and villages, and from all factories.

A special role in this struggle falls to the lot of the German working class. The struggle for the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann is the cause of the German workers themselves. This task must rally all German workers, and first and foremost all Social-Democrats and Communists. The united front in Germany must now be brought about with a mighty impulse. Anyone who refuses to participate in the united front or who fights against it must be shown that he is thereby helping the fascist dictatorship to fulfill its criminal plans.

The trial of Thaelmann, the leader of the German proletariat, is an act of vengeance against him by the fascist executioners. The fascist rulers are responsible for the cowardly murder of thousands of Communists and active Social-Democratic Party workers. Tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters are being subjected to the most ferocious torture in jails and concentration camps, and to physical and moral destruction. Germany has been transformed throughout into a concentration camp. The criminal band which is operating the fascist dictatorship in Germany and which has besmirched itself with the blood of the German workers, wishes to "try" Thaelmann.

"Free Thaelmann"—this call must become the fighting slogan of all Germans who love liberty. At the same time this call marks a struggle against fascist license, against the unbearable conditions of the deprivations of rights and of defenselessness in which each German now finds himself. This call marks the struggle against the operation of death sentences passed. It implies the struggle to destroy the concentration camps, a struggle for an amnesty for all the opponents of Hitler who are languishing in jails, a struggle against the "third degree" system, for freedom to defend those who are prosecuted, the right freely to select counsel for defense, and for humane treatment for prisoners. This call implies a struggle against fascist servitude, for liberty and rights.

"Freedom for Thaelmann." This call of Georgi Dimitroff must be the fighting call in every factory, in every working class district. It is a question of liberating Ernst Thaelmann, of a great struggle against German fascism. Workers, office employees, urban toilers, intellectuals and peasants—all must unite for this cause in Germany and throughout the world.

In his pamphlet *Save Thaelmann*, millions of copies of which have been distributed, Comrade Dimitroff writes the following:

"This is how things stand, and no other way. Every thinking person must decide whether he stands on the side of Hitler or of Thaelmann; there can be no neutral position in this question.

"Anyone who remains neutral, either willingly or unwillingly helps the hangman, Hitler.

"Anyone who does not wish to raise a finger to save Ernst Thaelmann, either willingly or unwillingly bears part of the responsibility for the criminal behavior of the rulers of Germany.

"Anyone who stands aside from the movement for the liberation of Thaelmann, either willingly or unwillingly assumes part of the blame for his sufferings in jail, for his physical and mental suffering and for his possible murder.

"All for the struggle to secure the liberation of Ernst Thaelmann!"

The trial of Thaelmann must, if help is forthcoming from the masses throughout the world, lead to a still greater fiasco for fascism than the Leipzig trial did. Thanks to the bold behavior of Georgi Dimitroff, Ernst Thaelmann must not remain alone in his struggle for the Communist Party of Germany, for the cause of the toiling people. A front of millions of people must be rallied behind him in Germany and throughout the world, and must wrest him from the claws of the fascist executioners.

The words of our great friend, the recently deceased Henri Barbusse, that, "We must win Ernst Thaelmann like a battle!" must be transformed into the cause of the world proletariat of the entire world.

Freedom to Ernst Thaelmann!

The Italo-Ethiopian War and the Tasks of the United Front

By M. ERCOLI

ONE of the problems upon which the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern concentrated its attention was that of imperialist war and the struggle against the war danger. For the solution of this problem the Congress gave us most precise instructions, on the basis of a profound analysis of the situation in which the danger of a new imperialist war becomes more acute every day. The events which have unfolded during the last two months make it possible to verify the correctness of the prospects foreseen in this sphere by the Seventh Congress, and at the same time to reveal the fact that there are a number of defects and weaknesses in the anti-war struggle being conducted by the international proletariat and broad sections of the toiling masses, which must be overcome without delay.

The Congress of the Comintern which took place in August of this year did not limit itself to merely pointing out the serious danger which menaces the cause of peace, and exposing the fascist countries as the obvious instigators of a new imperialist war. It also emphasized the need to unite the workers of all political currents for the effective struggle against war as being a most urgent task. If we are able to fulfill this task, our Congress declared, then, the position being what it is, there is a hope that we can prevent the outbreak of a new imperialist war, or at least delay it considerably.

Now, after the expiration of these three months, everyone is convinced that our estimation of the objective situation has been confirmed in all respects. *A new imperialist war has broken out* in the shape of the armed attack of Italy upon the Ethiopian people.

It has led to a new sharpening of the entire international situation, and we have already been within a hair's breadth of an armed conflict between two great imperialist powers—Italy and England. Such a conflict would have meant the beginning of a new world war. All the facts speak with horrifying clarity; they are far more eloquent than discussions and theses.

But do the resistance and struggle of the working class against war correspond to the tasks imposed on us by these facts which are of such tremendous importance? No, far from it! With the exception of a few countries, no unity of the working class has yet been developed in the anti-war struggle. There has not yet been achieved the degree of mobilization and activity of the working masses which is essential in order to fight against the war that is in being, and prevent it from spreading further to horrifying dimensions. In this respect we are wanting to a serious and alarming degree. It is to this that we must primarily draw the attention of all revolutionary workers and Com-

ists, and also of the workers of all other political currents and of all those who are in favor of peace. We must as quickly as possible unite our forces so as to eliminate this weakness and so that the broad masses of the toiling masses who loathe the war will not be caught unawares. These masses can avert or postpone the outbreak of war by the struggle they carry on. But if we are to achieve this, we must *lead* this struggle of the masses against imperialist war and thus prevent the instigators of war—the fascists—from bringing their foul, provocative policy of preparing for a new world war to a successful conclusion.

* * *

Perhaps some people will object that we are exaggerating the danger of world war, and that all this is not so terrible. They will say that the Italian fascism has undertaken for the conquest of Ethiopia only a new colonial campaign, a "little" war on the lines of those which both before and since the World War have drowned the so-called "backward" continents in blood, and the consequences of which the great imperialist robbers have always been able to regulate between themselves. But we assert that this point of view is absolutely wrong.

In actual fact the African adventure of Italian fascism is the result of the policy which fascism has been pursuing for many years now preparing for and provoking war on a European and on a world scale. Italy's African adventure is closely connected with all the other burning problems of international politics. Ever since its advent to power, Italian fascism has been pursuing a policy of imperialist expansion, dictated by the interests of the most reactionary and chauvinist circles of the bourgeoisie and in direct contradiction to the interests of the proletariat and the peasantry.

In Italy itself this process was based upon an extremely rapid process of concentration and centralization of industry, the reorganization of the whole of the national economy for the purpose of obtaining the maximum independence for Italy from foreign countries, and of facilitating her war adventures.

At whose expense was this reorganization of Italian economy carried out? At the expense of the workers whose wages were relentlessly reduced, at the cost of mass dismissals from the factories, at the expense of the unemployed who were deprived of material assistance and forced to rely upon charity, at the expense of the small and middle peasants who were subjected to growing impoverishment and pauperization as a consequence of the fact that the large agricultural farms and capitalist associations which had secured control of the agricultural sector were put under the care of the state.

Now more clearly than before the full meaning of the economic policy of fascism is revealed as one which paves the way for imperialist aggression. In order to bring about these preparations, the reactionary bourgeoisie had to abolish all the liberties and conquests of the working class and the people. In Italy the creation of the objective factors necessary for imperialist aggression could not fail to bring about a sharpening of class contradictions, and this in turn demanded the estab-

lishment of a regime of more open reaction. And after five years of devastating crisis, of ever-growing economic difficulties, mass unemployment, of a tremendous decline in wages, and an acute agrarian crisis, when, despite all the increased demagoguery of the fascists, the discontent of the masses who have been forcibly driven into fascist organizations and subjected to the totalitarian regime for seven long years, is beginning to be felt even in the fascist organizations themselves—now fascism is proceeding to realize its war plans.

The policy of Italian fascism inside the country, to prepare the war it has initiated, is quite a clear one. Equally clear are the conditions and the causes which arise out of the internal situation in Italy which have inspired Italy to begin her war of expansion *just at this moment*. But these conditions and causes are operating with just the same relentlessness, and in other cases with even greater force, in an entire group of European countries, which are oppressed by fascist dictatorship, and first and foremost in Germany. The war path taken by fascist Italy is the same path as that which National-Socialist Germany is preparing to take. Germany has already gone so far along this road, and continues to proceed along it at such a furious rate that the war which is being kindled by the National-Socialists threatens to be a much more monstrous and dangerous explosion than that provoked by Italian fascism.

Italian fascism has undertaken her military adventure just now not only because her home policy and the situation inside the country drove her to do so, but first and foremost because of the international position of Italy, the extreme instability of her situation, and also the growth of contradictions, the solution of which Italy hopes to find in war alone.

Italian fascism has always pursued a "revisionist" policy on the international arena by doing its utmost to find feasible excuses for starting a war for the redivision of the globe by force of arms. German National-Socialism is pursuing the same policy.

Italian fascism has been pursuing many different aims in Europe. The chief objects of its imperialist longings were the Balkans and Central Europe. Even now it does not relinquish these plans. But it has changed its front and has concentrated a considerable part of its energies upon realizing its aggressive plans in Africa. Moreover, this change of front took place at a time when Italian fascism had become convinced of the fact that it would meet with the most energetic resistance in Europe from its rivals, if it should try to realize its aggressive plans, and that these plans could not, therefore, be achieved immediately. Thus from the international point of view, the Italian adventure in Africa should be regarded as the first stage of armed conflict, brought about by many years of struggle in Europe on the part of the more aggressive imperialist powers, first and foremost of Italy and Germany, who are striving for a new division of the world, without which, as they have declared, they cannot exist; in other words, they are striving for a new war.

The war which has been begun by Italy has such deeply rooted causes and is on such a broad scale that it should be obvious to every-

body that it will not remain in its first stages. Since it is first and foremost the result of furious competition between rival imperialist powers, enacted primarily on the European arena, the Italo-Ethiopian war can not be regarded as an ordinary colonial adventure which is taking place somewhere far away in Africa. This war makes European problems more acute. Its influence is felt primarily in Europe and affects the entire European situation, which is already sufficiently complicated and unstable. War in Ethiopia is causing new complications, the whole seriousness of which cannot be fully defined as yet. But it can be said even now that these complications are the most serious that have arisen in the international situation since 1914.

Thus, the war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia cannot be considered an episode of secondary importance, as just one of the "ordinary" colonial wars and expeditions which have abounded during the past war years. It is much more correct to appraise this war as the commencement of the period of "little" wars, signifying the advent of a period of "big" wars, i.e., of wars between the great imperialist powers for a new division of the globe.

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This conclusion is confirmed by the changes which the international situation has undergone in connection with the Italo-Ethiopian war, and in consequence of it.

During the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in characterizing the international situation we not only pointed to its extremely complicated and unstable character, but also emphasized the extreme aggressiveness of the group of fascist powers, and the fact that two fascist countries—Germany and Japan—are openly preparing a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. What is more, we added that there are capitalist states which are interested, at the present moment, in defending the status quo and maintaining peace, and we stressed at the same time the extremely dangerous part being played by British imperialism, by directly and indirectly supporting the aggressive policy and anti-Soviet intrigues of German National-Socialism.

It cannot be said that the Italo-Ethiopian war has radically altered the position, but it must be recognized that it has already brought about such a regrouping of forces and raised new problems with such rapidity, that radical and fundamental changes may arise extremely rapidly and suddenly which will lead us directly into a new war.

England's hostile attitude to Italy's aggression in Ethiopia could have been foreseen. Any state that dares more or less openly to raise the question of a revision of the map of the world for the purpose of redistributing colonial plunder will inevitably find itself confronted with this hostile attitude.

By defending the status quo in the colonial world, British imperialism defends its own key positions in Africa, the Near East and the Indian Ocean, it defends its own great communication routes, it defends its domination over the largest section of the colonial world. The only thing that can surprise us is that England's resistance revealed itself with such force that it almost led to an outbreak of war in the Mediter-

anean and war in Europe, and that this war not only raises the problem of gaining possession of Ethiopian territory hitherto independent, but also raises the tremendous problem of a new division of the whole world by force of arms. This problem is not one that is specifically "African", "English", or "Italian". It is a European, a world problem. And the Italo-Ethiopian war is showing that the imperialist robbers can no longer delay the solution of this problem, but are preparing to solve it at whatever cost.

It is not a question as to whether Italy and England can temporarily solve their African conflict, and on what basis. The Italian and English robbers have, of course, plenty of opportunity of arriving at an agreement about the Ethiopian people. But the point must be stressed that the African adventure undertaken by fascist Italy has shown British imperialism that henceforth its own safety is menaced by the aggression of the fascist states. Will the British bourgeoisie draw the conclusion from these experiences that it is more advantageous for them to fight on the side of those countries which are defending the cause of peace, with the Soviet Union, to fight on behalf of collective security which would be an obstacle in the way of the fascist aggressors? There is no foundation for replying to this question in the affirmative. True, British statesmen have conducted their entire struggle against Italian imperialism under guise of defending the League of Nations, but this by no means signifies that the wolf has been changed into a lamb. There is not a single *fact* which can be brought in to testify to any change in the policy of the English bourgeoisie.

Yet it is just this policy which the peoples of Europe have to a considerable extent to thank for the fact that Germany has rearmed itself, that a military and naval agreement exists between England and Germany, and that German National-Socialism is growing more and more aggressive. The differences in the English and French camp in connection with the Ethiopian war, on the contrary, have encouraged the strengthening of the ties between British imperialism and German imperialism, and have helped to strengthen Germany's position in the conduct of her policy of aggression and war.

On the other hand, the policy of supporting the League of Nations and its statutes, as pursued by British imperialism, has strengthened England's position throughout the continent of Europe. Today, however, this on no account constitutes a factor making for peace. It more likely encourages the success of all those elements which are more or less hostile to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and are trying to create a new situation in Europe which will best guarantee the successful realization of the plans to "localize war in the East", i.e., attempts to find the road to the solution of the imperialist contradictions in war against the Soviet Union. The reactionary bourgeoisie of England look upon "localizing war in the East" as a good way of getting out of the present position, in face of the direct menace which threatens her colonial empire.

In actual fact, up to the present, the most obvious effect of the Italo-Ethiopian war upon the European continent has been the consol-

idation of the position of German National-Socialism. The National-Socialist war instigators were compelled to retreat a few months ago under the powerful pressure of the active peace policy of the Soviet Union, France and Czechoslovakia, and because of the resistance offered by the masses; but now they have once more increased their activities and taken a series of steps which can cause serious disquiet among the friends of peace, and which have already led to some alarming successes of a partial nature.

The plans to create a bloc of reactionary states around National-Socialist Germany in the center of Europe, with a view to preparing and beginning war on the Soviet Union, are taking on a more and more definite and menacing shape. Signs of a new German orientation by Austrian fascism on the international arena are beginning to make their appearance. The war has also made it possible for a change to take place in Italian policy in the direction of a renewal of collaboration with Germany. National-Socialism is spreading its intrigues to several new countries, like Belgium, for example. And all this is taking place at a time when the reactionary forces hostile to the peace policy of the Soviet Union are being mobilized in all countries. The furious campaign of the fascists and their patrons in France, campaigns in France, Rumania, and other countries against the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and several other facts show that throughout Europe there is a mobilization and growth of the military parties which are urged on by the prospects of an immediate explosion, opened up before them by the Italo-Ethiopian war. The change in the government of Czechoslovakia is to a certain degree a reflection of the same tendencies.

But why examine only what is taking place in Europe? In the Far East, the Italo-Ethiopian war has freed the hands of the Japanese militarists still more, and they are proceeding along the road to conquering the whole of China with more determination than ever before; they are more and more openly displaying their aggressive intentions in relation to the Mongolian People's Republic, and are only waiting for Europe to give the signal for them to begin an advance against the Soviet Union. Any day now the whole of China may find itself enclosed in a new, tremendous conflagration.

And so, war has begun in Africa, and all the resources of a big power like Italy have been thrown into the abyss of war. Europe is shaken from top to bottom by the adventure undertaken by Italian fascism. The Far East is in conflagration. The forces which are making for a new world war are growing with menacing rapidity, and a situation is being created which more and more favors criminal intrigues directed both openly and covertly towards organizing an attack upon the socialist fatherland of all toilers. Are not all these facts enough to cause the alarm to be raised?

* * *

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern most energetically confirmed and emphasized the fact that the possibility exists of barring the road taken by the instigators of imperialist war, and that the struggle for peace is not doomed to failure; that it is possible to postpone and,

under certain conditions, to prevent the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union. These fundamental declarations were, and still remain, correct even in conditions today, when war has already begun between Italy and Ethiopia. At the same time the Congress pointed out that the cause of peace can be saved only if certain conditions are fulfilled, the first and foremost of which is *that unity of action by the working class be achieved in the struggle against war and fascism.*

It is this unity of action by the working class which can and should mobilize in defense of peace all the non-proletarian sections of the people who are against war, namely, the peasants, the women, the youth, the intellectuals, the masses with pacifist inclinations. This is why the Executive Committee of the Comintern, fulfilling the decisions of the Congress, did everything possible to bring about unity of action in the struggle against war, as soon as the danger of war took definite shape, and twice made proposals to the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International to set up a united front, while still not too late, between the Socialist and Communist workers on an international scale. In the eyes of working class public opinion throughout the world we have quite definitely established who is responsible for the fact that the united front has not been achieved on an international scale. The responsibility lies with the Right wing of Social-Democracy which still continues to prefer unity with the bourgeoisie to unity with the proletariat; the leaders of the Right wing acted like strikebreakers. We must act energetically against those who jeer at our assertion that working class unity can prevent the outbreak of war or at any rate postpone it. The arguments of these people can be reduced to the statement that a meeting between a few Socialist and Communist leaders in some European town or other will not stop either the guns of Mussolini or the cruisers of the English. But it is not a question of a meeting of this kind. Such a meeting is merely a means of setting in motion *all* the forces of the working class, organized and unorganized. It is enough to take a look at the results of united action in France, which has already profoundly influenced the whole trend of politics in the Third Republic, and yet has not achieved everything that it might. True, it is more difficult to influence the policy of a fascist country than of a democratic country, but this circumstance should not lead us to reject action altogether, but, on the contrary, should make us double our efforts so as to influence the policy of the reactionary dictatorship.

Anyone who sneers at the united front does so in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the fascists, the war instigators. The position of the international bourgeoisie was considerably improved by what took place on the eve of the African war, when the working masses confidently awaited the establishment of the united front, which was rejected in Brussels, as a consequence of which their forces were demobilized. The bourgeoisie felt that the working class was still weak because they could still be prevented from establishing militant proletarian unity. From this time onwards the fascist war instigators raised their heads and began to operate with more confidence in all countries. What happened on the eve of the Italo-Ethiopian war is a horrible menace to

the working class. We will say quite frankly that the working class is faced with the menace of another August 4; and the danger is approaching from the same direction, namely, that of the reactionary wing of Social-Democracy. If the forces of the European working class are united, if the masses of the workers will fight together, then it will be possible to prevent war in Europe. But as long as the forces of the working class in Europe are scattered, and a big international organization like the Labor and Socialist International continues to subordinate itself to the Right leaders, who in turn are the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the intrigues of the war instigators in Europe will continue to grow unhindered.

In the face of this serious danger, we consider it our duty to utter a serious warning, in addition, to those leaders of Social-Democracy who express great concern, in words, about the situation that has been created for the European proletariat, but who, in actual practice, do not at all help to further the success of international unity, either through the influence they enjoy, or by their activities. A typical example of this sort of leader is Otto Bauer. Before the advent of the fascists to power in Austria, Otto Bauer first and foremost tried at every stage to turn the workers from the road of effective mass struggle. But the articles he always wrote in this connection were very "Left" in form. With all these "Left" trappings, Austrian Social-Democracy nevertheless suffered a defeat, as a result of which Otto Bauer lost both his army and his prestige. Now he lays claim to teaching the proletariat of Europe at large, and writes articles still more "Left" than the previous ones. He talks in them of the need for unity. But in order to bring about unity, the resistance of the Rights must be broken down, and the line of fire directed against them in particular. Bauer actually, however, directs his line of fire against the Lefts, just as he tried, above all, before the February days, to smash the Austrian Communists and to isolate them, although they alone were pointing to the right road of struggle. In directing his fire against the Communist policy—the only policy which has been proved correct in actual practice—Otto Bauer is extending his hand to counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, to arch enemies of the united front and the U.S.S.R., the base agents of bourgeois counter-revolution, whose profession it is to disintegrate the working class movement.

What interpretation can we put upon Bauer's solemn and pathetic declarations in favor of unity, after all this? The world situation is shaping in such a way that the problem of defending the Soviet Union is becoming more and more acute. But can you prepare the working class to defend the Soviet Union against an onslaught by the fascists by spreading the foul calumny of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism among the Social-Democratic workers? And what can we say about the other leader of "Left" Social-Democracy, Paul Faure, who just at this moment refuses to see any difference between the alliances and secret agreements which the fascists make use of in preparation for war, and the international pacts concluded by the Soviet Union for the purpose of maintaining peace? Can it be denied that by writing such articles,

Paul Faure adds grist to the mill of the reactionaries who want to turn France away from the policy of peace, and to lead her into an adventure which will rapidly culminate in war?

We are sure that whatever happens, the cause of united action against war will be victorious, for the working class will be able to make its will manifest. But we would be evading our duty if we restricted ourselves merely to calling for unity, without conducting the most determined struggle among the working class to bring about this unity against all their enemies. The guarantee that unity will quickly be achieved lies in our struggle against the reactionary Right wing of Social-Democracy, and in our criticism of the inconsistency and vacillations of the Left elements.

* * *

The tactical problem in the anti-war struggle of the proletariat, which is second in importance to the problem of the international united front, is that of the attitude to be adopted to the activities of the League of Nations—the *problem of sanctions*.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the estimate of the international situation outlined above provide us with the key to the solution of this task. The Seventh Congress pointed out that in the struggle for peace, the proletariat should not refuse to attract temporary allies, even those that are not very reliable and who waver, and should make use of the contradictions which exist between the bourgeoisie of different countries. The Congress recognized that the League of Nations can to a certain extent serve as an obstacle to the realization of the plans of the war instigators. On the basis of this, as soon as the question of action by the League of Nations became a concrete one, the Comintern came to the conclusion that the proletariat should demand and support the application by the League of Nations of effective economic sanctions against the fascist aggressor. But at the same time the Comintern considers it wrong, first, to demand military sanctions, and, second, to restrict the anti-war activities of the proletariat to mere demands for sanctions and support for the sanctions applied by the League of Nations.

The demand for military sanctions would lead to the working class being towed along in the wake of British imperialism which is preparing for war against Italy under the pretext of "military sanctions".

The statesmen of the English bourgeoisie became converted to the League of Nations, and became ardent defenders of the full application of the statutes of the League of Nations, when they saw the possibility of using the League of Nations and its statutes as a weapon of imperialist policy against their Italian rivals. But we have not for a moment forgotten the past; we remember how British imperialism sabotaged the League of Nations and its statutes when it was in its interests to give Japan a free hand in Manchuria and to urge Germany on to restore its army on land, air and sea. Only blind and helpless democrats can think that the defense of peace can be furthered by British imperialists. But let bygones be bygones. Is it not the plan of the most reactionary section of the English bourgeoisie today to make use of the demand for

sanctions in order to strengthen their influence and undermine the position of France in the League of Nations with a view to preparing for a change in the whole of European politics in the direction of isolating the Soviet Union, by giving ever more determined support to the aggressive aspirations of National-Socialism? And ought we not to expect that after the recent parliamentary elections in England, the influence of this most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie will be felt still more in Europe?

Therefore if the proletariat were to limit themselves only to the demand that the League of Nations adopt economic sanctions, it would be a serious mistake, capable of undermining the revolutionary struggle against fascism and war. We reject such a line of tactics.

The experience of the last few months does not speak in favor of the League of Nations. It was shown that the possibility of the League of Nations taking action is extremely limited because there are deep-rooted differences of opinion inside the League of Nations itself, and chiefly, because with the exception of the Soviet Union, there is no group of states yet in Europe which will fight consistently to bring about a system of collective security.

Will such a group of powers be formed, and will it be able to create a system of collective security capable, at least, of postponing war, of prolonging the existing situation for a period of time? The fate of the League of Nations will most probably depend largely upon the answer to these questions. Moreover, this is of tremendous importance for the cause of peace. Therefore the working class must state their views on all these questions. But the working class will not be able to do so if the questions themselves remain hidden from them, thanks to the policy which forces them along in the wake of the League of Nations and British imperialism.

Thus, the revolutionary line must include support for the measures adopted by the League of Nations against the aggressor. But this question must occupy a subordinate position, while the central question must be that of independent action by the working class, the immediate struggle by the working class organizations directed towards isolating the fascist aggressors, towards making it impossible for them to continue war, and forcing them to cease military operations and restore peace. Only if independent action by the working class is made the central point can we count on success in compelling the bourgeoisie of different countries to refrain from intrigues which lead to war. Only in this way is it possible to influence the policy of the bourgeoisie in these countries and stimulate them to participate in an effective system of collective security in Europe.

In each of the European countries, the main fire must be trained in a definite direction: in France—against the fascists and the policy of violating the obligations undertaken in the pact with the Soviet Union; in England—against support for the war plans of National-Socialism; in Czechoslovakia—against the intrigues of the reactionaries who are paving the way for the fascists and want to change the foreign policy of the country; in Germany and Austria—the aim must be to create a

mighty opposition of the people to fascism; in Italy—to defeat Mussolini in his criminal adventures, etc. But all that, in definite spheres, can and must be coordinated into one big struggle for peace, to be carried on by the *united* forces of the working class on a European scale.

Thus we return once more to the need for bringing about united action, *to the need for the united front on an international scale.* This question cannot be avoided, and we shall return to it again and again *until we are able to solve it. The fate of the struggle for peace depends upon this.*

* * *

Finally, and this is by no means of little importance, we must say that the work of the Communist vanguard of the working class has not yet risen to the heights of the tasks with which the struggle against war confronts us today.

First and foremost, the struggle against the Right wing of Social-Democracy which is sabotaging the united front has not been sufficiently developed among the working class or among the rank and file masses of the Social-Democratic workers. In consequence of this, the pressure upon the whole of Social-Democracy, with a view to forcing it to take the road of unity of action, has also been weak. Second, we have not made full use of the opportunities at our disposal of developing the independent struggle against war by the working class and broad masses of the toilers. We must draw the attention of all our comrades to these two points.

Eight days before the outbreak of military operations, Comrade Dimitroff, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, made a proposal to the Labor and Socialist International that the question be discussed of the best way of applying the measures worked out by both Internationals in defense of peace.

We expected in view of the fact that the situation was a serious one, demanding most rapid and determined action, that the Labor and Socialist International would overcome all prejudices and obstacles, and break down the resistance of the reactionary Right wing, and would accept the proposal made by Comrade Dimitroff. We considered the acceptance of this proposal to be of the greatest importance. But we never have thought that our struggle against war should be limited to merely sending a proposal to the Labor and Socialist International, and that the acceptance of this proposal is an essential condition for the development of an independent struggle by our Parties in defense of peace. The independent action by our Parties and the struggle for the united front do not contradict each other. They supplement and consolidate each other. It is chiefly thanks to our independent struggle against fascism, and to the successes of this struggle, that we have been able to bring the pressure to bear upon a number of parties in the Labor and Socialist International, which has forced them to choose the road of unity of action. A refusal to undertake mass action against war or to restrict this struggle because the Labor and Socialist International returned an answer in the negative, would be one of the most inconsistent things to do, and one of the most serious mistakes to make. On

On the contrary, we should take as our basis the fact that in spite of the decisions forced upon them by the Right leaders, the number of Social-Democratic workers prepared to fight against war is considerable and continues to grow, and we must find means of carrying on the struggle together with them. On the other hand, in many countries the forces which support our parties are already of a mass character. We can muster these forces around our own slogans, and by doing so, very broad sections of the masses can be brought into the struggle.

This is why the manifesto against the war in Ethiopia, issued by the Executive Committee of the Comintern when the Labor and Socialist International dallied with their answer to the proposals made by Comrade Dimitroff, says quite openly that we must begin to organize a mighty movement of all *toilers* against the war. In this manifesto the Communist International openly appeals to the Socialist workers, and to all their organizations and parties, to leave aside all differences in opinions and to act together against the fascist war instigators.

Obviously, we considered it essential, and could not do otherwise, that our struggle for united action with the Labor and Socialist International should be accompanied by independent anti-war action on the part of the Communist vanguard, and that these actions should be sufficiently energetic to win the support of wide masses of workers of all political currents, and to exert a strong effect upon the situation. The struggle against war was started by our parties, but it was not sufficiently energetic and systematic, and at the decisive moment it almost came to nothing. We must now make up for lost time. We must set to work with all our energies, in all countries and on all fronts—and *first and foremost among the workers organized in the trade unions*, so as to isolate the fascist aggressor by *stopping all cargoes destined for fascist Italy and her colonies, and by mobilizing the working class and the whole of public opinion in general on as broad a scale as possible in every possible form, against Italian fascism, against the war in the name of National-Socialism, and against Japanese aggression in China.*

We want to remind all our comrades and all revolutionary workers, that resolutions were adopted at the Seventh Congress which are being justified by events every day, and which are of historic importance. But this alone is not enough. Unless the Communist vanguard carry on a stubborn and persistent struggle these resolutions will not be carried out, and the great cause of united action against fascism and war will not meet with the successes it should, and meet with them as *quickly* as the growing danger of world imperialist war demands.

Results of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International

(Report at Meetings of Leading Party Workers in Moscow and Leningrad)

By D. Z. MANUILSKY

(PART 2)

V. A CONGRESS WHICH SUMMED UP THE LESSONS OF ARMED BATTLES

OUR Congress was a Congress which summed up the results of the struggle which took place in the recent years, namely, the February armed struggle in Austria, the struggle in Spain on October, 1934, and the heroic battles for Soviet power, which have been conducted for many years by the Red Army of China.

That the Social-Democratic workers, although late, resorted to arms so as to repulse fascism is a fact of tremendous historic importance. The armed struggle of the Austrian and Spanish workers testifies to the bankruptcy of the policy of Social-Democracy; it testifies to the turn in the sentiments of the wide masses of Social-Democrats; it shows that a considerable section of workers and Social-Democratic Party officials, trained over a period of years in the spirit of class-collaboration and of passive expectation of the victory of fascism, are turning to the policy of the class struggle, to the policy of actively influencing the course of events.

This struggle also teaches us, Communists, the irrefutable truth that there are hundreds of thousands of proletarians in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Parties, who, like the Communists, will fight for the cause of the working class, and that if these proletarians are not yet in our ranks, this is also our fault, for we have not succeeded in approaching these militant people and in showing them the correctness of our Party, and the incorrectness of the party to which they belonged.

One cannot speak without emotion of the miracles of heroism displayed in the February days by the Austrian Schutzbundlers and also by the miners of Asturias in the days of the October battles, when they heroically defended Oviedo. The names of Munichreiter, Koloman, Wallish, Weissel, Aida La Fuente, will always be remembered by the working class. Nor will the working class forget the 30 captured Red Guards who perished when the governmental troops in Asturias set them in front of themselves as a shield against the fire of the workers' detachments. The working class will never forget the proud words they uttered: "Shoot, comrades", they cried without wavering, "for the fascists are behind us!" The world proletariat bow their heads before the fresh memory of the numerous unknown heroes who advanced to the storming of the whiteguard nests with dynamite in their hands, and

with lighted cigarettes in their mouths, and who preferred to perish rather than to retreat.

But why, in spite of this self-sacrifice and loyalty to the cause of the revolution, were the workers of Asturias and the Schutzbundlers of Austria not victorious?

In his report at the Seventh Congress, Comrade Dimitroff showed with the utmost clarity that the working class can bar the way to fascism and prevent it from coming to power. The example of France is highly instructive in this respect. But to prevent the victory of fascism, the following four conditions are necessary: (a) militant activity by the working class itself, and the consolidation of its forces in a united proletarian front; (b) the existence of a powerful revolutionary party which correctly leads the struggle of the toilers against fascism; (c) a correct policy by the working class in relation to the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois sections of the population in the towns, and watchfulness in respect to fascism, the need to deal a timely blow to the latter, and the maintenance of the initiative in the struggle against fascism. Were these elementary conditions for a successful struggle against fascism fulfilled in Austria and Spain? No, they were not.

The first condition is the fighting capacity of the proletariat and the organization of the united front. What was the position in respect to this condition? Did the Spanish and Austrian Social-Democrats develop the fighting capacity of the proletariat by their policy?

The leaders of Austrian and Spanish Social-Democracy not only did not strengthen the fighting capacity of the working class, but weakened it in every possible way. It is well known that the Spanish Socialists, who took part in a coalition government, introduced laws against strikes, limited the rights of the trade unions, and passed the so-called law "to defend the social order", under which Social-Democratic workers who participated in the October battles are now being tried, and in every possible way dulled the alertness of the workers in relation to the arch-fascist and fascist elements. The leaders of Austrian Social-Democracy carried on a still worse policy during the entire post-war period, a policy of systematically retreating before the bourgeoisie and fascism.

In Austria, Social-Democracy was in the government in the years 1918-20. At that time it had arms and the arsenals in its hands; it had strong positions in the army, the police and the municipalities; it had a self-defense organization such as the Schutzbund at its disposal, but in 1933, 13 years, Austrian Social-Democracy gave up these positions one by one. It strangled the indignation of the Viennese proletariat in July, 1933.

It was cowardly enough to sign the famous pact of Guttenberg, allowing the fascist trade unions in the enterprises equal rights with the free trade unions. Rank-and-file workers who demanded that the workers should be put to this everlasting retreat were exhorted by the Social-Democratic leaders to keep the "Linz" program. But this program, as is well known, enjoined them to wait until the bourgeoisie first dealt a blow; in other words, only to take action when the bourgeoisie had gathered strength, and the proletariat had become enfeebled. And this is what happened in February, 1934.

The situation as regards the operation of the united front and the consolidation of the forces of the proletariat for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and fascism was a poor one. In Spain, where the working class movement was split up to a greater degree than in any other country, and where, alongside the Socialist and Communist Parties, anarchism was very influential, and where there were three Confederations of Labor, the Socialist leaders stubbornly fought against everything that assisted in bringing about the unification of the forces of the proletariat. They were against the establishment of factory committees, although factory committees in the hands of the proletariat would have been a most powerful weapon of trade union unity, and would have been the organized representatives of the *entire* working class; they also, like the anarchist leaders, rejected all negotiations with regard to trade union unity, although trade union unity was the decisive condition for the successful struggle against fascism. They fought against the establishment of Soviets, although Soviets would have been the organized consolidation of the forces of the proletariat and the peasantry in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the landlords, against fascist reaction, although the Soviets would have been organs of the struggle for the revolutionary seizure of power. Instead of honestly operating the united proletarian front, embracing the organized and unorganized masses, they maneuvered, and counterposed the Workers' Alliance to the united front, as a coalition, from the top, of various workers' organizations; the Right elements in the local organizations of the Socialist Party sabotaged the entry of the Communist organizations into the workers' alliances, and sabotaged the operation of the proposals of the Communists regarding the transformation of the alliances into elected bodies of the workers and peasants for the struggle for power.

The position in Austria was still worse. The Social-Democratic leaders simply turned down all the efforts of the numerically weak Communist Party to establish a united front, on the grounds that the "unity" of the proletariat was already established within the Social-Democratic Party.

The leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties in Austria and Spain prepared the armed struggles in these countries not as mass movements of the people, but as affairs covering narrow party groups, which operated behind the backs of the masses; they did not understand that "for an uprising to be successful, it must base itself not on a conspiracy, not on a party, and not on the advanced class". (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI.)

The result of this policy, which was calculated not on unifying but on preserving the split in the ranks of the working class, was that it was not the working class which rose to the armed struggle in Austria, but only a small section of workers (the *Schutzbund*). Further, the leaders of Social-Democracy did not even advance the slogan of the general strike, and, while the *Schutzbundlers* were engaged in battle, the workers in Vienna went to their work, and the railwaymen calmly allowed military reinforcements to be brought in from the provinces for the Dollfuss government.

In Spain, while the miners in Asturias were carrying on a life and death struggle, the Right Socialist leaders in Biscay persuaded the workers who were marching on Bilbao to disperse to their homes, for "war was over", while in Barcelona, the anarchist leaders used the government radio station to call on the workers to remain at work.

This was the position as regards the first main condition for the successful struggle against fascism.

The second condition is the *existence of a powerful revolutionary party, which correctly leads the struggle against fascism*. Did the Spanish working class have such a Party? No. The Communist Party in Spain had a correct policy, but the Party itself was not sufficiently strong to lead the struggle of all the anti-fascist forces in the country. The line of the leaders of the Socialist Party, however, was fundamentally incorrect. It was incorrect because Social-Democracy, from the first day of the revolution, did not consolidate the positions of the proletariat, but weakened them. The Social-Democratic Party did not direct the full strength of its blows against the monarchist and fascist conspiracy, but directed the blows against the Left section of the working class movement; did not confiscate the landed property of the big feudal landlords and the churches so as thereby to abolish the economic basis of the counter-revolution, but actually defended these reactionary forces against the agrarian revolution. It did not disperse the "civil guard" which was hated by the people, but strengthened it by establishing a "military guard" of a fascist type. It did not clear the reactionary officers from the army, but provided them with pensions in addition. Such a policy was not the policy of a revolutionary party, but of a party which was preparing the victory of the counter-revolution. The leadership of the Austrian Social-Democracy was a similar one, which capitulated a step before the onslaught of the Austrian bourgeoisie and fascism. Did Austrian Social-Democracy know, in February, and Spanish Social-Democracy, in October of last year, whither they were leading the workers, and what were the aims of the armed battles? For the seizure of power? Yes, this is what the workers wanted, but the Social-Democratic leaders did not set themselves these aims; they merely wanted to weaken the bourgeoisie and to render them more accommodating in negotiations with them. It followed therefrom that neither Austrian nor Spanish Social-Democracy could have pursued a *correct policy in relation to the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, i.e., they could not fulfill the third condition necessary for a victorious struggle against fascism*. The petty bourgeoisie of the towns is a wavering class; they waver in the majority of cases towards the side which intimidates them by its determination and strength. Like the peasantry, they are those who themselves know whither and why they are going; and they mean to achieve by this, and what victory there will be for the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns as a result of this. A Social-Democratic party which is afraid of the working class achieving victory and is afraid of the revolutionary activity of the masses, as of its own death, will never lead the toilers to victory. But it is precisely because of this that Social-Democracy was afraid of a victory by the workers' and

peasants' revolution in Spain, that, when it was in the government, it not only did not defend the need for handing over the estates of the landowners to the peasants, but, on the contrary, strangled the peasant movements directed towards the seizure of these lands. For this reason the sons of the peasants who were in the Spanish army did not actively support the Spanish workers who undertook the struggle in October, and for this reason, the fascist agitation of Gil Robles against the republic meets with a response among the Catholic peasant masses.

And now, as regards the fourth condition, namely *watchfulness in respect to fascism, the need to be timely in repulsing it, and the need for taking initiative in the struggle against it*. It follows from all that has been stated that neither in Austria nor in Spain was watchfulness displayed in relation to fascism, but there was a systematic dulling of such watchfulness by calls addressed to the working class to keep to "the lawful ground of the constitution". The blow against fascism was not a timely one, but the armed struggle took place in conditions which were least favorable to the proletariat, and most advantageous to the bourgeoisie. The initiative of the class battles was handed over to the bourgeoisie by Social-Democracy. This is what the Social-Democratic leadership of the armed struggle looked like.

But take another country where the armed struggle of the toilers has been going on not for several days, but for several years, where Social-Democracy has never existed, where the latter had no powerful mass organizations, where the working class did not have that organizational training over many years which the workers had in Austria and Spain, where the working class itself is not a big section of the population and is numerically swamped in a peasant sea, but where the workers and peasants have for seven years already victoriously beaten off the offensive of the reactionary general, are wiping out the armies of their opponents, arming themselves at their expense, and establishing new Soviet districts, and are securing new successes, all because *their struggle is led by Communists—Bolsheviks*. We speak of the amazing page in the history of the present-day colonial revolution, namely, *the struggle for Soviet power in China*.

Six campaigns conducted by Chiang Kai-shek against the Red Army have met with military and political failure. And, although surrounded on all sides by the superior forces of the enemy, the Chinese Red Army, in the autumn of 1934, was compelled to leave the Central Soviet district of Kiangsi, and today the forces of the Red Army occupy big districts in six provinces in China, namely, Szechwan, Kweichow, Kwangsu, Shensi, Hunan and Hupeh. Partisan detachments are operating in the province of Kiangsi, which has been left by the regular troops of the Red Army. The battlefield of the Red Army has stretched over thousands of kilometers, and this renders the Red Army, with its splendid ability to maneuver, little vulnerable to the enemy.

The legendary march of the main forces of the Red Army, under the command of Chu De and Mao Tse Dim, over a distance of 3,000 kilometers which separated the province of Kiangsi from Szechwan, mainly at night, or under a downpour of rain, so as to avoid an

slaughter from Chiang Kai-shek's bombing planes, a march during which the Red troops had to cross inaccessible mountains and torrential rivers without having pontoons to aid them, and without the necessary reserves and transport, testifies to such a *high level of class consciousness*, to such superhuman endurance, to such a *fighting spirit* as no armies of the Chinese militarists will succeed in smashing.

The successes of the Red Army also testify to *indissoluble links* with the widest masses of the toilers of China who, in every possible way, helped the Red troops in their struggle against Chiang Kai-shek; they bear witness to the correctness of the tactics of the Chinese Communist Party, *which linked up the struggle of the army with the mass movements of the people*, one of the forms of which is *action by partisan detachments* in the rear of the enemy. It also testifies to the clever *organization* by the commanding officers of the Red Army of the *contradictions* in the camp of the militarists, and to military strategy of such kind as *does not hand over the initiative* in military operations to the enemy, but repulses the offensive of the latter by *timely* counter blows, and demoralizes it politically.

But the Soviet movement which has developed till now outside the urban industrial centers in the country sets itself bigger tasks at the present stage of the development of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese Communist Party is striving to make the Soviet movement the *political basis of the unification of China*, is striving to head the struggle of the masses of the people throughout China against Japanese imperialism, and to establish effective contact in the struggle against the imperialist landlords, with all military groupings who are ready to defend their country against aggression. With a view to establishing such a wide anti-imperialist front, the Chinese Communists are proposing to all political or military groups to conclude agreements for joint struggle against the imperialist onslaughts, on the following conditions, *viz.*, the *cancellation of hostilities against the Red Army and the Soviet districts*, the establishment of political liberties, the arming of the people, and the organization of a people's war against the imperialist conquerors.

The fact that the Chinese Communist Party has come forward with a program of the anti-imperialist fighting front of the Chinese people is not a maneuver. It is a crime to maneuver with the defense of one's people against the imperialist robbers. One can maneuver with the enemy, but not with the people, whose national freedom and life are heroically defended by the Communists. And if it is true that the Communists and they alone have the right in all countries throughout the world to speak *in the name of the people* for they alone are the real *friends of the people*, for they alone pay by their personal fate and lives for the cause of the people, this is all the more true in respect to the Chinese Communists who are the sons of one of the peoples most oppressed and suppressed by world imperialism. The glorious deeds of the Chinese Communists and their program of national liberation testify to a profound understanding of the great political responsibility borne by the Chinese Soviets before *their own people*, who are fighting for national liberation, of the responsibility borne by the Communist Party

of China before the *workers of the whole world* for the fate of the Chinese revolution. And it is only such a Bolshevik combination of the interests of its own people with the interests of the toilers of the whole world, it is only such a bold application of the people's anti-imperialist front, only such leadership as the leadership, in the fire of battle, of the Chinese Communist Party, that will advance the cause of the Chinese revolution, *liberate* the Chinese people from the *imperialist yoke*, establish the *totality and unity* of China, and consolidate Soviet power throughout China.

VI. A CONGRESS OF NEW TACTICAL LINES

The experience of the struggle for the united front in France, the lessons of the armed struggles in China, Austria, and Spain, in a situation where the working class is moving towards revolution, impelled the Communist International to indicate a series of new tactical lines at the Seventh Congress.

We are told that in this connection all the opponents of the Comintern and the enemies of our movement are in their glory. "The Comintern", they are saying, "is changing its tactics!"

What an amazing piece of news! The tactics of a political party are not the eyeglasses of a keeper of records, with which he does not part even when he goes to sleep. Tactics, as the sum total of the methods and means of the struggle of a political party, are designed to be altered if a change in the situation demands it. We, Communists, belong to a live and active party, and are not archive rats, past which move the political and social movements in the lives of the peoples. We are not like the British diehards who, for instance, stubbornly repeat lying slanders about the Soviet Union, although the facts which hit them in the eye refute all their stupid fairy-tales. The Communists least of all desire to be like the wiseacre who, when informed that his assertions contradict facts, gave the classic answer: "So much the worse for the facts!"

"But the new tactics of the Comintern contradict the old tactics", declare our opponents. Well, and if this is so, what is wrong here? The tactics of a working class party in imperialist wars, for instance, "contradict" the tactics of a working class party in national wars. But only a hopeless pedant would now proceed to find fault with the tactics of a working class party in national wars. Correct tactics become incorrect when there is a desire to apply them to other conditions, to a completely different concrete historical situation than that for which they were adapted.

But tactics remain correct for the period of time and the conditions to which they correspond, although they are already useless for a new situation. Therefore, we decisively reject the silly attempt of the reactionary section of Social-Democracy to present the picture as though the old tactical line of the Comintern has not stood the test at all. Was it correct for the German Communist Party to carry on an irreconcilable struggle against Social-Democracy in the period when the bourgeoisie carried on capitalist exploitation in Germany and governed through the

medium of Social-Democracy? Absolutely correct. Is the German Communist Party behaving correctly now, when Social-Democracy has been smashed up as a political party, and when the workers are turning to the position of the class struggle, in concentrating its fire against fascism as the worst enemy of the working class? Absolutely correct. Isn't this a clear contradiction! But this contradiction only exists in the heads of these people who have not the slightest understanding of the *live dialectics of the class struggle*.

And here is a second contradiction. Formerly, don't you see, the Communists did not operate the united front, but now they do! But, if the Communists formerly did not operate the united front, it was because Social-Democracy systematically rejected the united front proposals made to it. That was the case in Germany on July 20, 1932, when the Communists, in reply to the dispersal by Papen of the Prussian government headed by the Social-Democratic Braun, made the proposal to the Social-Democratic Party that they make a joint call to the masses to undertake the struggle. This was the case on January 31, 1933, when, on the eve of the advent of Hitler to power, the Communist Party proposed to Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions to participate in jointly carrying through a general strike. This was the case in France when, beginning with the year 1922, the Communist Party, in various circumstances, made the proposal *on 26 occasions* that a united front be established, on each occasion receiving a reply rejecting their proposal. The same was the case with the proposal made by the Comintern on March 5, 1933, in connection with the seizure of power by the German fascists. The same was the case in connection with the appeal made by the Comintern to the Second International on October 10, 1934, in connection with the events in Spain and the heroic struggle of the Asturian miners. This was the case several days ago in connection with the call made by the French Communist Party which proposed to the British Labor Party that it undertake the initiative of calling an international conference of all working class organizations to undertake a real struggle against the Ethiopian adventure. That was the case—and because that was the case, there was no united front. And because this is still the case in the majority of capitalist countries, it has not been possible to advance the united front begun in France to these countries. And because this should not and will not be, a change is taking place in the tactics of the Comintern. And if it were possible for Social-Democracy to resist the united front in the past, it was because the pressure of the working class in favor of a united struggle was not adequate. But this will not be so in the future, because under the influence of the defeat inflicted on the entire international working class as a result of the bankruptcy of the policy of German Social-Democracy, the masses of proletarians throughout the world are imperatively demanding unity of action, and are in every possible way supporting the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

We are told that *the united front tactics* contradict the tactics of *class against class*. But the tactics of "class against class" are not, as Comrade Dimitroff correctly stated, tactics of struggle by one section

of the working class against another, but are tactics of rallying the forces of the proletariat as a class, on the basis of the united front tactics, against another class, the bourgeoisie. And if the tactics of class against class in the preceding stage become transformed into a struggle not only against the bourgeoisie but also against Social-Democracy this was because Social-Democracy participated in a bloc against the revolutionary section of the working class, became fused with the apparatus of the capitalist state, introduced arbitration of a fascist type during strikes, undertook police functions (Zorgiebel, Grzhzinski, Severing), and after the General Strike in Great Britain announced that "never again" would this happen, and supported the policy of Mondism, etc. And by the fact that Social-Democracy still continues to insist on this policy, which is fatal to the working class, as for instance in the Scandinavian countries, it hinders the operation of the "class against class" tactics on the basis of the united front. But the application of the tactics of "class against class" desired by the workers and their vanguard, organized in the Communist International, not only does not exclude the application of the united front, but presupposes it. This is how the Ninth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International viewed the tactics of class against class. In the resolution adopted at that Plenum in February, 1928, it is clearly stated that the united front proposals must be made both on a national and on a local scale, "in so far as considerable sections of the masses of workers still follow the reformist leaders."

Such is our reply to our enemies. And now as regards the doubts in the minds of our friends. It seems to some of them that the present attitude of the Comintern to Social-Democracy is in glaring contradiction to the position of Bolshevism which over its entire history carried on a merciless struggle against the Mensheviks. It is well known, they say, that the Bolsheviks fought against the conciliators who attempted to unite the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. Is not the Comintern itself, with its slogan of a united working class movement, sliding down to the position of *conciliation* to Menshevism? The Bolsheviks won the masses not by the fact that they established a *united front* with the Mensheviks, but by the fact that they exposed the Mensheviks as agents of the bourgeoisie, and thereby won the workers away from their influence. The Bolsheviks appealed *directly* to the masses, and led their movement *apart from the Mensheviks and over their heads*. Neither in 1905 nor in the years of reaction, nor in 1917, did the Bolsheviks advance *the slogan of a government of the united front*, still less of *the people's front*. How then can we do this now?

It is true that Bolshevism also carried on a determined struggle against the Mensheviks, and against any attitude conciliatory to them, as for instance, the German Communist Party against Brandler and the German conciliators. But it is also true that at various periods in the course of its development, Bolshevism fought against the Mensheviks in different ways. In 1910, for instance, the Bolsheviks entered into a bloc with members of the Menshevik Party for a struggle against the liquidators of the Right and the Left. Did this mean that by join-

ing this bloc, the Bolsheviks disarmed themselves before Menshevism, and that the Bolsheviks became conciliators in relation to the Mensheviks? By no means. By means of this bloc, the Bolsheviks split the forces of the Mensheviks, and helped part of them to come to the position of the Bolshevik Party, thereby dealing a blow at Menshevism as a trend which spread bourgeois influence among the proletariat. The Bolsheviks did not become conciliators by the fact that they made a *different approach* to the various tendencies within the ranks of the Menshevik Social-Democrats. The people who were conciliators were those who obscured the essential differences of principle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, and demanded that the Bolsheviks should cease the struggle against Menshevism, being of the opinion that it was a "lawful" tendency within the working class movement, and by denying its character as being hostile to the interests of the proletariat, actually strove to secure the capitulation of Bolshevism to Menshevism.

But only conscious rogues can assert that by carrying on the struggle for working class unity, the Comintern is covering up the fundamental points of disagreement which divide the Communists from Social-Democracy, namely the question of class collaboration, of the proletarian revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the shape of Soviet power, of the defense of the bourgeois fatherland, i.e., etc. To cover up these disagreements now, when the bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie has been exposed, when the correctness of the line of the Communist International has been confirmed by the whole course of events, when the masses are turning to the Left, because they are becoming convinced on the basis of their own experience of the necessity of the class struggle, would really be the height of folly. Only hopeless idiots can think that by helping the Social-Democratic workers, with the aid of the united front tactics, to pass to the position of the class struggle, we are assisting in bringing about the capitulation of Communism to Social-Democracy. If the Bolsheviks in the years of reaction made a different approach to the various trends within Menshevism all the more foundation is there now for the Communists doing so in the capitalist countries, when most profound movements are taking place among the Social-Democratic workers and among the workers throughout the world. Only by overcoming the views, which regard Social-Democracy as one solid reactionary mass, will it become possible for the Communists to exert effective pressure on the revolutionization of the Social-Democratic workers without waiting for the masses to turn spontaneously to Communism.

It is also incorrect to think that the present-day working class movement in the capitalist countries, in the epoch of the beginning of the proletarian revolution, must reproduce, down to the very last detail, the path of development which Bolshevism passed through, and which took shape politically in a historically concrete situation different to the present. It must not be forgotten that prior to the war of 1914 the Russian Bolsheviks were the *first* Party of a new type in the working class movement which made its way forward, without the experience or precedents from the past. Since that period Bolshevism has become a

world trend, embodied organizationally in the world Bolshevik Party, the Communist International. Since that period Bolshevism has, along with the working class, achieved victory over one-sixth of the earth's surface, and has received such powerful means of influencing the world proletariat *as the state of the proletarian dictatorship and the victorious construction of socialism*. The extremely rich thirty years' experience of Bolshevism, which has become the property of the international working class movement, in its turn reduces the stages to be traversed by the latter through which Bolshevism passed in the course of its development. Therefore in transferring the experience of the tactics of the Russian Bolsheviks to the present day working class movement, a "supplement" must be made to the changed social and political situation.

Secondly, the present tactics of the Comintern cannot be understood if one ignores the special features of the working class movement abroad, which distinguish it from the Russian working class movement prior to October, 1917. Social-Democracy of the present-day capitalist countries has had far deeper roots among the masses than did the Russian Mensheviks, for capitalism there is stronger than Russian capitalism was. The working class in the capitalist countries are better organized than the Russian proletariat were prior to the revolution, and organized in mass Social-Democratic parties and mass reformist trade unions. The workers of the capitalist countries have passed through a long school of reformist political and organizational training, which has become a conservative force preventing the penetration of new ideas into the ranks of the working class. But in the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries, Communism has not had the positive experience of revolutions (1905-1917) in which Russian Bolshevism grew steeled; these workers of the capitalist countries have had to overcome the very powerful Social-Democracy and the powerful reformist trade unions.

In penetrating among the masses, Communism could neither pass by the Social-Democratic and reformist trade unions, nor exert such direct influence over the working class as did Russian Bolshevism, which was faced with fresh revolutionary human material not impregnated by reformist influence. The spontaneous factor in the movement of the masses in present-day capitalist countries plays a less important role than was the case, for instance, in pre-revolutionary Russia with its weakly developed reformist trade union movement and the weak political and organizational positions of Menshevism in the ranks of the working class movement.

But in the present-day capitalist countries not only are the proletariat better organized, but so also are other sections of the toiling population.

The revolutionary word did not fall here on the untilled fertile soil of a maturing agrarian revolution, as was the case in Russia. In the present-day capitalist countries Communism found the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie differentiated politically, and organized in various bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, in various kinds of cooperative societies, mutual aid societies, etc. It is extremely difficult for Communism to make its way through to these allies of the working

class, over the heads of all these organizations. To wait for all these organizations to fall to pieces of themselves, and for the Communists in all their purity to collect the "leaderless" masses, freed from all petty bourgeois prejudices, is, to say the least, ridiculous.

In the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries there is no revolutionary situation as yet where dizzily rapid turns by the masses are taking place, and where their old organizations are being demolished, but neither is there now the former stability in the alignment of the various political parties among the masses. The masses have now begun to move, they are already *up in arms* against the bankrupt policy of their old organizations, but *they do not as yet want to break with them*; they are however *exerting pressure on the leading officials of their organizations*, demanding of them *another* policy, based on the *class struggle* and not on class collaboration; they are demanding of their old leaders who are stubborn as mules that do not wish to leave their stables, that they establish united action in the struggle against capital by all the organizations desiring to carry on the struggle with them. The *united front tactics which serve as the foundation of the people's front tactics* correspond to this period in the growth of the consciousness and activity of the toiling masses who are on the road from the policy of class collaboration to the policy of the class struggle, from support for the bourgeoisie to support for the proletariat, from reformism to Communism.

Historical analogies and parallels with the past are frequently sought. They are very valuable, but they will help us very little if we do not seize hold of the live peculiarities of the world situation today. Capital is utilizing the crisis to seize the toilers by the throats in a death grip. The seizure is of a character such as the history of the organized working class movement has never known. Nor has it known such political regimes as the terrorist regime of German fascism. The imperialist wars which the bourgeoisie are preparing for the toilers will also be fascist wars, *i.e.*, wars which will make no distinction between the rear and the front, between the armies engaged in battle and the peaceful population, will be wars carried out at great distances, wars of mechanism, of gases and bacteria. However, in many history textbooks we examine we will not find situations analogous to the present when revolution, fascism and war are so wedged in the development of mankind. Consequently, we must build our tactics not on analogies, but on the basis of a concrete analysis of the relation of class forces at the given moment.

Can we say that this relation of forces today is such that all the conditions have matured for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the present-day capitalist countries? No, these conditions have not yet matured, because the proletariat in a number of countries have not yet torn themselves away from the influence of the bourgeoisie in some countries, nor have they overcome the influence of Social-Democracy in their ranks; the Communists in the overwhelming majority of the capitalist countries are still too weak to be able to lead the masses directly to the struggle for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The working class itself is split, and is therefore not

in a position to draw along in its train the other sections of the toilers who in some countries are wavering in the direction of fascism. What would you order a party to do in such circumstances which does not wish to occupy itself merely with *propaganda* of the proletarian dictatorship and Soviet Power? To wash its hands of the responsibility for the situation, to which the policy of the reactionary elements of Social-Democracy has led?

But the working class demand more of the Communists; they demand of them that they tell them what to do today, *with the present relation of forces*, so as to defend themselves from the onslaught of capital, to save themselves and their people from fascism, to save themselves and the whole of mankind from war.

The victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the beginning of the going over of Social-Democratic workers to the position of the class struggle are transforming the Communists into a force which cannot content itself merely by a propagandist negation of capitalism, merely by criticizing the inadequate political maturity of the movement today; if the Communists are to make full use of the growing power of the working class they must actively interfere in the present movement of the masses, and attempt to raise it to the level demanded by the central task facing the working class movement, namely, the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, the Communists are working without sparing themselves to secure the establishment of the unity of the working class movement, a unity which is militant, trade union unity, and political unity, as the main condition for the successful struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war, for without such a concrete struggle at the present day it is unthinkable to carry on a struggle for the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

We are fighting to transfer the *weight of the consequences of the crisis onto the backs of the ruling classes, for the liquidation of fascism and of the fascist movement* (to disarm the fascist bands) to drive them out of the state apparatus, to disband their organizations, to close down their printing presses, and to arrest their leaders). *We are fighting for the restoration of the liberties and organizations of the working class, for peace and against war.* But we Communists are people of revolutionary action, and we know that the present bourgeois rulers will not put our demands into life; however, they may under the pressure of the masses be put into operation by a government which arises out of a powerful united front movement which grows into a people's front.

This government will not be a coalition government, a government of collaboration between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie, for coalition governments were governments for the struggle against the Left section of the working class. A united front government, on the other hand, is a government *which breaks with class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a government of collaboration between workers' organizations, which have broken the bloc with the bourgeoisie, a government for the struggle against fascism, and not against the working class.* Coalition governments prepared the way for the fascist dictatorship,

while the united front government has to clear the way for the victory of the working class.

This government will not be a Social-Democratic government, which, as experience has shown (in England, Sweden, etc.), operated and is now operating the policy of the bourgeoisie, and not the policy of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism. And a united front government, a government of workers' organizations and a government of the people's front, a government in which are represented the political organizations of other classes which adopt a platform of struggle against the offensive of capital, fascism and war in common with the workers' organizations, is a government of times which are not normal, a government of a period of *political crisis*.

The united front government, however, is not a government of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a government which is to prepare the establishment of the power of the working class. It has to do this, but whether it does so depends on a number of considerations and primarily on the extent to which the forces of the working class are consolidated, on its fighting power, determination and readiness not to be satisfied with results achieved, but to advance its offensive against the ruling classes up to the point of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the proletarian dictatorship.

Is it obligatory for us to pass through the stage of a government of the united front, of the people's front, so as to achieve the establishment of a government of the proletarian dictatorship? No, it is not obligatory. Our tactics are not a scheme which we have devised and into which the entire development of the revolutionary struggle of the working class must be dragged, independent of the varied character of its conditions and forms. The tactical lines of the Seventh Congress as a whole correspond to the *relation of class forces at the present period, to the present level of the movement, to the power of the Communist Parties*, and it is constituted at the present day and as it will be constituted in the near future. These tactics are being operated in earnest and for a long time. Tactics, generally speaking, may change, but the general line of the Communist International and its course aiming at the proletarian revolution on the basis of the consolidation of the forces of the working class remain firm and unalterable.

VII. A CONGRESS MUSTERING THE COMMUNISTS AROUND THE GENERAL LINE OF THE COMINTERN. A CONGRESS OF BOLD BOLSHEVIK SELF-CRITICISM

The Seventh Congress confirmed the correctness of the general line of the Comintern. Neither the bourgeoisie, their scientists, economists and statesmen, nor Social-Democracy, its theoreticians and politicians, proved correct in their estimate of the world situation, and their perspectives of the development of the capitalist world, but we, Communists, who are masters of the unsurpassed method of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin proved to be correct in the approach to social phenomena.

The bourgeois economists harped about an epoch of "eternal pros-

perity" ensuing, Social-Democracy spoke of an epoch of "organized capitalism".

The Communists were not agreed with this, and declared that from the moment of the World War of 1914-1918, the capitalist world had entered the stage of its general crisis.

The facts have shown that the Communists were correct.

"Capitalist stabilization has been established for ever", asserted the bourgeois and Social-Democratic "scientists".

"Stabilization is relative; it is a temporary and passing phenomenon," objected the Communists.

The facts have shown that the Communists were correct.

"An end has been put once and for all to crises. The capitalist world is entering the stage of economy without crises", was the forecast of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic scientists.

"Crises are inevitable under capitalism", answered the Communists.

The world economic crisis which broke out in 1929 confirmed the correctness of the Communists.

"The capitalist world is advancing towards a toning down of class contradictions, towards a gradual improvement in the material conditions of the working class and the masses of the toilers, towards the establishment of socialism through bourgeois democracy and social reforms"—this is what the progressive bourgeoisie and the reformists of all shades thought.

The Communists thought differently. The world, they said, was advancing not to a toning down of class contradictions but towards an unheard of sharpening of the latter. If the working class does not tear itself from under the influence of the reformism and does not pass to the position of the class struggle, its position and the conditions of all the toilers will uninterruptedly grow worse under capitalism. Not socialism but fascism is prepared by bourgeois democracy, which does away with the social conquests of the working class, won from the bourgeoisie after many years of struggle.

The events of the recent years have proved that the Communists were correct.

"In the epoch of 'super-imperialism'," declared Kautsky, "the big states subordinate the weaker peoples economically, and consequently they do not need wars. Imperialism becomes almost tame and peace loving."

"The imperialist stage of the development of capitalism", replied the Communists, "is indissolubly connected with the outbreak of new imperialist wars, more frightful than the wars which have taken place hitherto." "If the proletariat does not overthrow the bourgeoisie", added the Communists, "the bourgeoisie will drive the proletariat into the abyss of war."

Facts prove that the Communists, and not the people of the Kautsky type, were correct. The Communists were correct on the question of the proletarian revolution. On the question of the paths of the development of the proletarian revolution, and on the question of the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R.; they were correct on all the fundamental

questions of the world working class movement, which lay at the foundation of the program, strategy and tactics of the Comintern, and which determined the latter's Leninist-Stalinist general line.

But does this mean that the Communists were without fault in the application of this correct line to the concrete conditions of the working class movement in the various countries? No, it does not. We had many cases of the correct line being distorted, of distortions mainly of a sectarian character which upset the Bolshevik mass policy of the Communist Party.

And the Seventh Congress directed its blows against this distortion as decisively as possible. In the history of the Comintern there have been few Congresses where Bolshevik self-criticism was so severe as the Seventh Congress. And it would be incorrect to think that between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Comintern more mistakes were made by the Communists than in other periods of the development of the Comintern, but it is true that the Communists have grown by a whole head, that they have been able to give a more critical estimate of the path of their struggle, and that the "infantile disorders" of their growth and development to maturity have become clearer to them and more understood by them.

The Seventh Congress disclosed such weaknesses in the Communist movement as the Communists previously did not notice and which they passed by. Take, for example, such a malady of ours as the *mechanical* transfer of the experience of the Communist movement of one country to the Communist Parties of other countries. We made many miscalculations in this respect and did not succeed in time in separating the chaff from the wheat; and the absolutely correct task of *internationalizing* the experience of our movement was the "wheat". But under the guise of solving this necessary and correct task, we frequently allowed a mechanical approach to the questions of our movement, by allotting the same tasks to the weak parties as to the strongest Sections of the Comintern. We frequently did not take account of the special peculiarities of the movement in different countries, its political level and the degree of its revolutionary maturity. Hence there arose the "chaff" of mistakes.

Or take the question of the work of the Communists in the mass fascist organizations. We cannot reproach the Comintern with not having given timely directions on this question. But these directions were of a general character, whereas they needed working out concretely. We will make no headway out of the fact that we merely repeat general formulas about the need of carrying on work in the mass fascist organizations. The main question is *how to carry on this work*. The fulfillment of this task is no easy matter. Two dangers await the Communists here, namely, either we allow ourselves to be wiped out by the enemy from the very outset, or else we slide down the path of such adaptability as threatens to grow into liquidationism. We have had no great experience of this kind of work up till now, and it is a difficult task to sum up this kind of activity in public, because it will not only serve to educate our own cadres, but will expose our methods of

work to the enemy, and thus facilitate his struggle against the Communists.

The experience of the Bolsheviks of the days of tsarist underground work is a most valuable experience, but it does not completely solve the tasks which face the Italian and German Communists, who, for instance, are carrying on activity in conditions of exceptional terror. It should not be forgotten that apart from terror, fascism has another side, namely that of social demagoguery which the rather stupid and un-gifted tsarism did not possess, that fascism, utilizing the lessons of the defeat of tsardom, has learnt to suppress "the utilization of legal possibilities" by the Communists, that fascism has surrounded its mass organizations with such a network of espionage as the tsarist Secret Service never succeeded in establishing, and that the entire apparatus of the modern capitalist state is considerably stronger than was the state apparatus of the tsarist autocracy. The mere underground experience of our Party does not exhaust the whole question.

But mental laziness and an inclination to stock and hackneyed phrases prevented a deeper penetration being made into the very essence of things. Instead of understanding the peculiarities of the situation in which the Communists in the fascist countries have to work, preference was given to explaining everything by the statement that the Communists were not fulfilling decisions.

And there were people who for many years hawked around this explanation of our failures in respect to mass work in the fascist organizations without noticing that this explanation itself became a stock phrase. At the Seventh Congress, Comrade Dimitroff gave a thorough shaking up to many schemes and stock phrases, and this one also was severely dealt with.

And the Communist Parties in the fascist countries, the comrades in Italy and Germany, first and foremost, will have to rack their brains quite a lot so as to work out real examples of Bolshevik work in the mass fascist organizations. It will be necessary, if this work is to be successful, for a more strict division to be made between the "legal" and illegal work of the Communist Parties in the fascist countries, and to decentralize to a greater degree the dependence of the lower on the higher organizations, at the same time introducing more effective control by the illegal leadership of the Party over the comrades who are carrying on "legal" work in the mass fascist organizations. It will be necessary, further, to ensure by means of organizational forms, the development of the self activity and initiative of the rank-and-file workers who are carrying on open mass work, and the establishment of cadres of "legal" workers of the revolutionary working class movement who penetrate into the mass fascist organizations, in a word, to decipher the "Trojan Horse" tactics of which Comrade Dimitroff spoke, on the basis of live experience. It is in the course of this work that a cohort of practical mass workers will develop, people of the great revolutionary cause, to whom will belong the tremendous honor of overthrowing fascism.

The Congress further criticized our weaknesses in the sphere of

trade union work. The Communist Parties have drawn up quite a number of good decisions on this question as well in the past, which have not been put into practice. Why? Was it the evil will of the Communists to prevent these decisions being put into life? Of course not.

The gap between the wish and the deed arose because the people who wrote the resolutions took little account of the actual possibilities of putting them into life. The resolutions themselves frequently called to mind a collection of general directions, calculated on the maximum of favorable conditions for operating them. But actually reality looked quite different, and created ever new difficulties in the work of the Communists in the trade unions. They were expelled and driven out of the trade unions, they were thrown out of the factories, and strangled by the noose of unemployment, etc.

The circumstances in which these resolutions were written changed, but people repeated old phrases, still further deepening the gap between words and deeds. And this disorganized the Party workers and accustomed them to adopt an attitude of insufficient respect to resolutions adopted, and weakened their will to struggle even for the fulfillment of more humble and easily accomplishable tasks.

How much talk did we devote, for instance, to the necessity for Communist fractions carrying on work in the trade unions? But no further advance was made because, by establishing our own small trade unions, we locked the Communists away from the wide masses, and doomed them to stew in their own juice, where an already complete unanimity reigned supreme, where fractions were an empty formality, and where meetings were a sheer waste of time.

Place the Communists in such conditions where they do not come into contact with their own followers every day, but where they have to answer the arguments of our opponents to the masses, and learn to argue for themselves and to defend their own position, and where they sharply feel the need for all their supporters coming to an agreement beforehand, so as to withstand the pressure of the reformist bureaucrats, and you will not recognize the very people whom we are today accusing of not knowing how to carry on work in the trade unions. And trade union unity, for which the Communists are now carrying on a struggle, has this advantage among others, that it *creates the conditions* for the development of our Communist forces, and for the education of real mass leaders.

But does this mean that when criticizing sectarian mistakes, the Seventh Congress underestimated the danger of Right opportunism? No, comrades, it does not.

Large masses of Social-Democratic workers are beginning to turn towards Communism. They will add new strength to our movement. In a number of fascist countries, in Austria for instance, they have already given our Party good cadres, who so far as their fighting qualities are concerned do not yield place to the old Communist cadres. But at the same time we must not forget that the masses who are coming to Communism do not become Communists in 24 hours; time is wanted for Social-Democratic views to be finally overcome; the relics of Social-

Democratic ideology will continue to exert their influence over the minds of the new Party members, and hence the intensification of the danger of Right opportunism.

This danger is further deepened from the fact that we are advancing towards shocks in the capitalist world, towards a sharp turn of events, towards great class battles, which will appear too much for people who politically are little tested, and who have weak nerves. Remember, comrades, Stalin's wonderful words about the fishermen and the thunderstorm? Some draw the sails tight, their boats cut through the waves, but they go boldly to meet the raging gale, while the others fall to the bottom of the boat, cover their heads and leave the boat to the will of the waves. . . . But we want the Parties to be fishermen of the Stalin school and not fishermen who are afraid of thunder and the storm. Therefore it is especially necessary now that we sharpen our watchfulness in relation to Right opportunism. Are there fishermen of the Stalin type in the Parties belonging to the Communist International? Yes, comrades, there are.

VIII. A CONGRESS OF DEVELOPED BOLSHEVIK CADRES

The Bolsheviks of the capitalist countries give immortal examples of heroism, not to be effaced from the memory. These include John Scheer, August Luetgens, Fiete Schulze, Tsu Tsu-bo, Shalai, Furst, Ivata Yosimitsi, Watanaba, Massanocuke, Lutibrodsky—and there are tens and hundreds of them, people who from the scaffold hurled their last cries to the masses and their last challenge to the enemy. With heads proudly raised aloft they went and go to the scaffold, full of love for the people, of hatred for the enemy, and of contempt for death. And in the early morning dawn of the capitalist cities and villages the steps of the people going to their execution sound hollow and rouse millions every day, rouse them to a similar indomitable and fearless struggle. And when the curs and swine of capital, triumphant yet today and mocking the rank-and-file German Communist who has been beaten up and mutilated almost to death, declared that "we have knocked Communism out of your head", they heard the reply through lips pale as death that "you have knocked it still further in"! He was right, this unknown hero of the German people. Torture and executions are driving Communism still deeper into the hearts and heads of the people. And the love and confidence of the masses of the people in men of the Stalinist temper, in people who are carrying on a life and death struggle against slavery and oppression are growing and extending throughout the world.

The Communists have shown their worth! They have shown that they are not to be wiped out, as their class and their will to struggle and victory are not to be wiped out.

And with every day that passes, these people are more and more mastering the secret treasure of the Bolshevik science, that is, are mastering the ability to develop firm, inviolable contacts with the very widest masses of people, the ability not to lose their heads at critical moments, and speedily and independently to find their way in the most

difficult situation, the ability to repulse waverings and indecisiveness, the ability to fulfill the laws and discipline of the Party.

And it is precisely because reliable Communist Party forces have developed and are now developing in the capitalist countries that the Congress introduced fundamental *alterations into the methods of the leadership of the Comintern over its Sections*. The Congress stressed that the center of the activity of the Executive Committee of the Comintern must be transferred to working out the main political and tactical lines, that the Executive Committee must as a rule avoid interfering in the inner organizational affairs of the Communist Parties. And this wide decision is no accidental one, it was dictated by the fact that the Communist movement in the capitalist countries has become consolidated and Bolshevized.

A Bolshevik Stalinist guard has grown up in the capitalist countries. And we are proud of the fact that a man, namely, the people's tribune, Georgi Dimitroff, has risen out of the ranks of this Stalinist guard in the capitalist countries, who, with the executioner's axe hanging over his head, cast a bold challenge to the enemy, and who by his courage assisted in bringing about an advance of the anti-fascist movement throughout the world. When this unyielding revolutionary in his passionate struggle against fascism stood to his full Bolshevik height, the world felt the strength of Communism, the strength of the Stalinist cohort. It was precisely to him that the Congress entrusted the helm of the leadership of the Comintern. The Congress selected the leadership of the Comintern from people who will operate the new tactical line, not out of discipline, but out of conviction, fully confident that headed by the helmsman, Georgi Dimitroff, it will be a true, tested, steered and Stalinist leadership.

But the importance of developed Bolshevik cadres is not exhausted by the organizational conclusions in relation to the personal composition of the leadership of the Comintern, nor by the alteration in the methods of this leadership. One of the most important guarantees of the success of the Communist Parties in their struggle for the proletarian revolution is the possession of *firm Bolshevik cadres*. The victory of the revolution depends not only on the objective conditions which facilitate it, but also on the people who make this revolution. We cannot correctly determine the perspectives facing our movement if we do not take account of the state of the cadres which the Communist Parties have.

IX. A CONGRESS OF GREAT PERSPECTIVES

The Seventh Congress outlined a *great perspective* for the world working class movement, a *perspective of battles and victories*.

It gave a reply, in this respect, to the burning demands of the workers who have undergone the bitterness of defeat, for a way out of the cul-de-sac to which the policy of Social-Democracy has led them. It smashed to bits the Social-Democratic legend regarding the almightiness of capital and the helplessness of the workers. It made an onslaught on the fatalistic line regarding the inevitability of the standards of living of the masses being reduced in the conditions of the crisis, of

the inevitability of the victory of fascism, of the inevitability of a new period of imperialist wars, *i.e.*, of the inevitability of the triumph of the armed bourgeoisie and the defeat of the unarmed proletariat.

On the basis of the concrete experience of successful mass strikes in a number of capitalist countries, the Congress showed that it is possible, even in the conditions of the crisis, to hold up the capitalist offensive. On the basis of the live example of the anti-fascist struggle of the French proletariat, the Congress demonstrated to the entire international working class that the establishment of the united working class front which grows into the anti-fascist people's front renders it possible not only to bar the way to fascism, but also to pass to the counter-offensive against the latter. Further, by popularizing the experience of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. supported by the struggle of the international working class against war, the Congress showed that on more than one occasion the united efforts of the U.S.S.R. and of the toilers in the capitalist countries have made it possible to spoil the warlike plans of the imperialist governments. The Congress showed, finally, that the growing power of the land of the Soviets, the first proletarian state of the world working class, creates the confidence among the toilers in the capitalist countries that they possess a serious material force in the face of the bourgeoisie who are arming against them.

The concise and clear perspective indicated by the Seventh Congress is not passive expectation of the "spontaneous" development of events, nor a capitulatory reliance on the automatic collapse of the fascist dictatorship, but a perspective of struggle with ever-growing chances of victory. This victory is inevitable, but the paths to it may be more or less painful for the toilers. But of all the paths to it, the most painful will be the path where the split in the ranks of the working class continues, and where insufficient activity is displayed by the toilers in the struggle against the ruling classes.

If the capitalist world should even succeed in working its way out of the present world economic crisis, this does not remove the question of the revolutionary perspective from the order of the day. Every slightest improvement in the economic situation will be utilized by the working class to undertake the counter-offensive, so as to tear from capital all those humble conquests which were done away with by the bourgeoisie as a result of the world economic crisis. The proletariat will not be content to accept the colonial standard of living, and the monstrous deprivation of rights which the ruling classes have established under the excuse of saving capitalist economy from destruction. Everywhere a big wave of strikes would develop which would serve as the starting point for big movements of the peoples, directed against the regime of hunger, poverty and fascist terror. The live and clear example of the growing well-being of the masses of the people in the U.S.S.R. would serve in an especially infectious manner in this situation.

What will the ruling classes be able to counterpose to this example? Capitalism in its fascist wrapping? But the ruling classes are profoundly mistaken if they imagine that the establishment of fascist dictatorship in each capitalist country will take place as smoothly as in

Germany. German fascism has very seriously upset the game for the fascists in other countries. By its bloody practical activity it has raised a wave of resentment against fascism throughout the whole world. The anti-fascist movement in France, the armed battles in Austria and Spain have shown the bourgeoisie of other countries that any attempt to establish fascist dictatorship will come up against the stubborn resistance of the toilers. The bourgeoisie risk their heads if they go headlong towards this goal. Its struggle for fascization will be the source of big class battles, which may end in the overthrow of capitalism.

At the same time in those countries where the fascist dictatorship has already been established, such an accumulation of class hatred towards it is taking place, that although the revolutionary movement is developing in more difficult circumstances in these countries it will assume the forms of a merciless civil war.

"... The school of civil war does not leave the people unaffected. It is a harsh school. And its complete curriculum *inevitably* includes the victories of the counter-revolution, the debaucheries of enraged reactionaries, the savage punishments meted out by the old governments to the rebels, etc. . . . This school teaches the oppressed classes how to conduct civil war; it teaches how to bring about a victorious revolution; it concentrates in the masses of present-day slaves the hatred which is always harbored by the downtrodden, dull, ignorant slaves, and which leads those slaves who have become conscious of the shame of their slavery to great historic exploits." *

The bankruptcy of the fascist policy is becoming more and more clear to the masses who supported the fascists prior to their advent to power. The peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie are displaying ever greater dissatisfaction with their conditions. A considerable section of the big bourgeoisie are alarmed at the approaching economic catastrophe. The social basis of fascism is becoming ever narrower. At the same time the successes of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. are exerting and will continue to an ever greater degree to exert a revolutionizing influence not only over the proletariat but also over those petty-bourgeois masses who were the social support of fascism. The crises of the fascist dictatorship, after the type of the Matteotti crisis in Italy and the crisis of June 30 in Germany, are not only inevitable but will be utilized more actively by the masses as a result of past lessons so as to deal a decisive blow against fascism. No terror in history saved regimes doomed to destruction.

But the Land of the Soviets, against which German fascism is preparing to mobilize the entire capitalist world, will grow and gather strength, and will win the peoples to the support of socialism in spite of and against the ferocious bourgeoisie. Let the capitalist world leave the Land of Soviets in peace, and allow it the possibility of developing without attack over the course of a few years, and this country, by its successes, will convince millions of people throughout the globe of the

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 298, International Publishers, New York.

advantages of socialism as against capitalism; it will make revolutionaries in relation to capitalism out of "peaceful" people who stand outside all politics, and of yesterday's opponents of socialism it will make its hearty friends, ready to lay down their lives for its triumph; it will attract the best minds of the human race, the flower of the nations and of the peoples, and the oppressed masses of all races and of all colors.

Socialism would not be a mighty all-conquering idea brought about on one-sixth of the earth's surface if it did not master this powerful force which is bringing the human race into movement. And it is precisely because socialism does not need wars to achieve its triumph, that the world proletariat and its state, the U.S.S.R., are the most consistent and honest fighters for the cause of peace. And it is precisely because capitalism is a doomed system that the bourgeoisie are striving to save it, a system which has become an object of shame and curse in the eyes of the human race, and the source of new imperialist wars and primarily of an onslaught on the Land of the Soviets, the fatherland of the toilers, namely the U.S.S.R.

But any onslaught on the Land of the Soviets will unleash all the forces of the proletarian revolution. As the result of such a war, as Comrade Stalin has stated, the bourgeoisie will find a few of its governments missing. Let the capitalist world dig its grave with its own hands! The working class has no grounds for looking ahead gloomily. Under all conditions it will fulfill its role as the gravedigger of the capitalist system. And this conviction penetrated our entire Congress, which was a Congress of *oncoming victories by the working class, a Congress of the preparation of these victories.*

The Seventh Congress outlined a concise and clear course to be taken by the masses, it demonstrated the correctness of the line of the proletarian revolution. We have a world Communist Party which will operate this course and this line, namely, the Communist International, the International of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We have the guarantee of the correct fulfillment of this course and line, in the staff of the Communist International headed by its glorious helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff. We have the guarantee of victory in the fact that the army of the toilers in all countries is led by the great leader of all the exploited and oppressed, Comrade Stalin.

Long live the Seventh Congress of the Communist International!

Long live the mighty Stalin!

Japanese Aggression in China

By E. YOLK

THE demands recently presented to China by Japan leave no doubt that Japanese imperialism is energetically advancing towards her cherished desire of converting China into a colonial appendage of the Japanese Empire.

These demands which are being advanced under the guise of "conditions of Sino-Japanese friendship" can be divided into three groups:

First, the demands connected with already conquered Chinese territory. Japan is striving to secure the recognition of Manchukuo by the Nanking government, considering this to be the shortest road to the international legislation of her requisitions. At the same time Japan is organizing a "movement for the independence" of Northern China, a movement for "independent Mongolia", demanding that the Nanking government recognize the "autonomy" of the North Chinese provinces and also that Northern China is "a special sphere of Japanese interests". The mercenary politicians of the old "Anfu" Japanophile clique placed at the head of an "autonomous Northern China" would be as obedient marionettes of the Japanese robbers as Pu Yi and his "Manchurian government" are in Manchuria.

The second group is composed of Japanese pretensions to the control of the home and foreign policy of China. The Japanese demands which deprive China of even the existing remains of her independence are the liquidation of all anti-Japanese agitation in Central and Southern China, joint struggle against the Chinese Red Army, the refusal by China to accept the help of European powers, America and the League of Nations, and a Sino-Japanese military alliance". The demand for "joint struggle against the Chinese Communists" expresses Japan's desire not only to liquidate the Chinese Soviet movement, but also to set up direct control over the armed forces of the Nanking government.

The third group is composed of the following economic demands which aim at securing monopolist domination by Japan over the national economy of China: reduction of import duties upon Japanese goods, abolition of export duty on cotton, coal, iron ore, and other goods exported to Japan, the grant of rebates in taxation for Japanese employers and the formation of Sino-Japanese mixed companies, etc.

Enormous efforts need to be made and considerable time to be spent by Japanese imperialism for the new program of aggression to be fulfilled. Meanwhile the present international situation in the Pacific, which is favorable to Japanese expansion, may change in a short time. Inside China national-revolutionary forces are maturing and taking shape which will in time be able to organize devastating resistance to the Japanese conquerors.

All this is forcing Japan to hasten forward the realization of her plans. Therefore, what now distinguishes Japanese aggression is the

extremely rapid rate at which it is going on. Manchuria and the Jehol province have been appropriated in the course of four years. During 1935 alone the whole of Northern China has come under Japanese control. Thus, during the course of several years, Japanese imperialism has acquired over 110,000,000 colonial slaves.

The task has now been set of binding the Central Chinese government with a chain of obligations which, first, will guarantee Japan unlimited control over Northern China and, second, will strengthen the hegemony of Japanese imperialism in Central and Southern China for a long time to come.

Japan is seeking to obtain these conditions not only for the sake of securing direct political economic gains, but also for strategic purposes. It is essential for the Japanese General Staff to secure its rear on the mainland for the war which is being prepared against the U.S.S.R. North and Central China must supply coal, iron ore, cotton, labor power, and perhaps, auxiliary army corps, for the anti-Soviet front. North and Central China must, by the time of the Japano-Soviet war, be so far subordinated to Japan that all possibility of an anti-Japanese movement or of attempts at reprisals on the part of Chinese nationalists is ruled out.

There are a whole number of facts which go to prove that every step which deepens Japanese aggression in China is at the same time a step towards the preparations of war against the U.S.S.R. Hardly had the Japanese consolidated their position in Peiping and Kalgan, than they began preparatory work on the territory of Inner Mongolia for the equipment of a base of operations against the Mongolian People's Republic. Repairs which have increased the transport capacity of the railroad by several times have been executed on several sections of the Peiping-Suiyan railway. In the Suiyan province, the Paotow-Ningsia railroad track is under construction, and telephone communication is being installed in a western direction from Poatow to Wuyuan. Aerodromes have been prepared in Kalgan and Paotow. Increased agitational work is being carried on among the Mongolian princes, and with the most influential of them—Devan—for the purpose of organizing an "autonomous" Mongolian government in the near future as a counterblast to the Mongolian People's Republic and as a basis of intrigue against it.

The Japanese imperialists do not conceal this connection between war in China and the future war against the U.S.S.R. which they are preparing.

In the Japanese organ *Goven Joukar* which is published in Tientsin in the Chinese language, a certain Nasiki points out that the economic development of Soviet Siberia is a "tremendous menace" to Japanese interests.

"The most effective means of counteracting this menace," continues Nasiki, "is to throw up a barrier against the activities of Soviet Russia in its chief Far-Eastern revolutionary base, namely, Outer Mongolia. To realize this task, there is no other way for Japan but to pursue her North Chinese policy. The

best region for the realization of the Mongolian policy is the territory from Sinkiang to Urga. . . ."

That the question is not limited to declarations made by Japanese journalists may be seen from the way the construction of a base of operations in Manchuria, Korea and Inner Mongolia has been speeded up, and the provocative behavior of the Japanese militarists towards the Mongolian People's Republic, as well as the acts of provocation on the Soviet-Manchurian frontier—in a word, all the numerous facts which, taken as a whole, are called the "policy of stabilizing peace in the Far East", to use the language of Japanese diplomacy.

The capitulatory policy of the Nanking government facilitates aggression by Japan.

Thanks to this policy, the Japanese have been able to place their own Chinese henchmen in the central state apparatus and in decisive posts in the provinces. The Japanese Ambassador, Ariosi, and the Japanese consuls in Shanghai, Hankow and other places are, at bottom, the masters of the situation.

The international situation at the present time also encourages the Japanese offensive. The United States of America, where isolationist tendencies are strong, is not at the moment carrying on an active policy in the Far East. The furious naval construction that is being developed in the United States cannot seriously change the relation of military forces in the Pacific in favor of America in the next few years.

Japanese aggression much more seriously affects the considerable and direct British interests in Central and Southern China (British capital investments there alone amount to about one billion dollars. Moreover, the increasing activities of Japan, of late, on the threshold of India, in Siam, where a party hostile to England and friendly to Japan has now come to power are causing anxiety to the English.

It is not surprising, therefore, that during the last year the English have been doing their utmost to consolidate their position in Central and Southern China (a British loan of ten million Chinese dollars to a Chinese mining company, the activities of the Hammond Railway Commission, the organization of an inter-provincial telephone network by the English, and, finally, the Leith Ross mission). But the general instability in Europe, especially the Italo-Ethiopian war and the Anglo-Greek conflict are considerably weakening English positions in the Far East. The English bourgeois press is more and more frequently emphasizing the need for England to consider Japan's dominating position in China as a fact that cannot be eliminated. The "Round Table" stresses the fact that "it is out of the question for the West to arrange relations with China without taking into account the relations existing with Japan". The situation which is arising in the Far East is forcing British imperialists to compromise with Japan, obviously at the expense of China.

Finally, Japanese aggression in China is encouraging the unity of outlook which exists on this question among the ruling classes of Japan. China is the traditional object of the imperialist appetites of the Japanese bourgeoisie. The bourgeois-bureaucratic group which rules today is

closely connected with Osaki "business circles", shipping, and shipbuilding concerns, and the court which has large financial interests in shipping, and is related directly, socially, with the Okuma cabinet which forced the "21 demands" upon China in 1915. But the rival military-fascist clique is also entirely in agreement with the Chinese policy of the present government. The differences of opinion in the camp of the Japanese bourgeoisie on the question of the rate at which aggression should take place, and the forms it should take against China (the militarists insist upon forcing the pace and on the adoption of more decisive methods including the extensive use of armed force; the bourgeois-bureaucratic political circles consider it more expedient to use diplomatic pressure primarily, and gradually to assimilate what has been won) are not of such great importance as these difference are on the question of the anti-Soviet war.

What is delaying Japanese aggression? Why cannot Japanese imperialism make use, to the end, of all the circumstances which favor it, and deal with China as it dealt with Manchuria in 1931-32?

Let us consider the most important factors which restrain it.

In spite of all the advantages which the present international situation affords to Japanese expansion, it nevertheless does not entirely free Japan (as would be the case in the event of a new European war) of the necessity of considering its imperialist rivals. The United States of America, true, is silent, but only for the time being! The United States is preparing its fleet and naval bases on the Aleutian Islands, Hawaiian Islands, and other parts, not to mention the colossal economic and financial superiority of America over Japan. England is prepared to compromise with Japan in China, but not to capitulate before it. This being so, Japan cannot make up her mind to declare a formal protectorate over China or to use similar methods, for it fears that it may arouse resistance on the part of its competitors in the Pacific.

A big factor restraining Japanese aggression is the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Japanese imperialism, like every other imperialist aggressor, is compelled to reckon with the fact that the consistent and determined peace policy of the Soviet Union is mobilizing mighty forces for the struggle against imperialist war, and is compelled to reckon with the effect which the existence of the U.S.S.R. has upon all the revolutionary and sincerely patriotic forces of the oppressed and weak nations.

The third extremely important reason which to a certain extent hinders Japanese aggression is the position inside Japan itself. We know that a violent agrarian crisis is rife in Japan side by side with a certain military-inflation boom in the export and war industries. The impoverishment of the peasantry, especially in the chief agricultural region of the Northeastern provinces, has reached devastating dimensions. The miserable position of the peasantry can be judged from the fact that, according to official statistics, in six prefectures of this region alone, 25,000 peasant girls were in the course of ten months of 1934 sold in the towns "as factory hands, geisha, prostitutes, and domestic servants".* The exploitation of the workers increases not only in the form of cuts in actual wages, but also in consequence of the fact that

* *The Japan Times*, October 1, 1935.

skilled workers are more and more being thrown into the ranks of the so-called "temporary workers". This category of the lowest paid, destitute, oppressed workers, deprived of "out-of-work" pay, of medical treatment, etc., has grown during the last two years according to official (incomplete) data, to 300,000, and constitutes no less than 15 to 20 per cent of the total number of workers engaged in industry in Japan. The growing discontent among the masses which has found partial expression today in the movement for the united anti-fascist front, and in the election victories of the workers' and peasants' groups at the last municipal elections, is causing serious alarm among the ruling circles of Japan, and especially the militarists who have fears for the political and moral condition of the army. A well-known bourgeois economist, Kodama Seitsi, gives the following appraisal of the situation inside the country:

"Today Japan is faced with an economic crisis. . . . The conditions of the people and especially of the peasantry are becoming worse and social discontent is growing. Inflation has reached its height and its further development is threatening. The government and the capitalists will find it worthwhile to realize that if this is not stopped, a time may come when nothing will be of avail. With a sharp change in the economic situation, *the discontent of the people and the unrest may change into Communism.*"

Japanese imperialism has not sufficient resources to finance its tremendous program of aggression. In this connection, as we know, a violent struggle is taking place today around the 1936-37 budget. If the Minister of Finance, Takahashi, who represents the interests of the Japanese banks and industrial circles, is forced to satisfy the enormous demands of the Military and Naval Ministries for 1,300,000,000 yens, this will require the issue of new loans to a sum of not less than 800,000,000 yen. Today, when the money market is already satiated with old debts (the internal state debt is about 8,000,000,000 yen today), the realization of the new loans will be saddled with tremendous difficulties and with the danger of a sharp depreciation of the yen. Even now the financial situation of Japan is such that it "temporarily deprives Japan of the possibility of any foreign investments".* Even the Southern Manchurian Railway—the favorite colonial object of capital investments by the Japanese capitalists—is meeting with great difficulties in the realization of a 140,000,000 loan.

But the conquered territories cannot be seriously assimilated without big capital investments and financial expenditure. Manchuria, where the Japanese conquerers are still far from being stably entrenched, has swallowed up no less than 2,500,000,000 yen in the past, and has not given the economic effect promised to the bourgeoisie. Japanese imperialism possesses a sufficiently powerful military apparatus rapidly to seize colonial territory and to set up its own military-political regime there. But the economic basis of Japanese imperialism itself is too weak

* The Japan Times, August 30, 1935.

to enable it to get a strong footing upon its new, tremendous, conquests, to settle on them and assimilate them.

Thus, the economic weakness of Japanese imperialism and the danger of overstraining Japanese finances, side by side with a simultaneous increase in the danger of big social upheavals inside Japan itself in the event of a further reduction in the beggarly standard of living of the toiling masses, act as a serious factor restraining the development of the Japanese offensive in China.

But there is yet another most important circumstance which makes it difficult for the Japanese imperialists to force the pace of the conversion of the whole of China into another Manchukuo. And that is the danger of bringing about a national-revolutionary outburst in China, which will undermine the position of the Japanese occupants.

The Japanese imperialists are afraid that by too rapidly and too openly enslaving China, national-revolutionary forces inside the country will be let loose which may overthrow the treacherous Nanking government and cause colossal difficulties to the Japanese robbers. Fear of national-revolutionary indignation on the part of the Chinese masses, together with consideration of international factors, is the chief reason why the Japanese plans today are limited to direct control only in Northern China, and the establishment of *indirect* control in Central and Southern China.

* * *

The experience of Manchuria has shown the Japanese imperialists that it is not an easy task to fetter the Manchurian population which does not want to reconcile itself to the foreign robbers. During the last four years, the Japanese conquerors have not succeeded in liquidating the guerrilla movement, in spite of the fact that their army has an overwhelming advantage and has first-class technical equipment. In China proper the development of the national-liberation movement threatens the Japanese with immeasurably greater complications. In China—unlike Manchuria—broad masses of the workers and peasants have passed through the experiences of the great anti-imperialist and agrarian revolutions of 1925-27. In China—unlike Manchuria—there is a mass Soviet movement, and an armed organization of the people in the form of the Chinese Red Army. In China proper the position of the Communist Party—the most consistent anti-imperialist force—is considerably stronger, and its influence considerably more extensive, than was the case in Manchuria before 1931. China, finally, possesses enormous territories and an economic base to serve a long and effective national-revolutionary war.

Up to now the Nanking government and the local provincial militarists have been successful in suppressing the mass national-liberation movement. Only the vanguard of this movement—the Chinese Red Army and the Soviets—have, under the most difficult circumstances, been able to defend their own existence and their role of hegemony of the national-revolutionary struggle. The Chinese Soviets and the Red Army have succeeded not only in maintaining, but also in consolidating and increasing their forces, in spite of enormous privation and difficulties.

The main forces of the Chinese Red Army carried through a march from Kiangsi to Southern Hansu, unheard of in the history of the civil war, covering over 3,500 kilometers, and engaged in struggle along the whole route.

In Southern Hansu, the main forces of the Red Army have succeeded in linking up with the Fourth Army of Hsu Hsian-chien, and a large group of Red forces under Hsu Hai-Tung in Southern Shensi. At the point where the provinces of Hansu, Shensi, and Szechwan converge, a new Soviet district has been established. In Northern Shensi, the Soviet district covers 18 counties. On the southern bank of the Yangtze, in northern Hunan, at the point where it touches the province of Kiangsi, a Soviet district is being successfully developed under cover of the Red Army Corps of Ho lung and Hsio keh. Chiang Kei-shek is compelled hitherto to concentrate huge forces so as to continue his struggle against the "Red menace".

In connection with the great transfer of the main forces of the Chinese Red Army from Kiangsu to Southern Hansu, it is of interest to learn the appraisal of the forces of the Red Army given by foreign bourgeois eye-witnesses.

"The strength of the Reds in Northwest China does not depend upon their military power, but upon the activities of their propagandists who are extremely versatile and are welcomed on all sides by a listening population. . . . The former Chang Hsio-Liang troops are not very active in the struggle against the Reds, while Communism is spreading there as rapidly as mushrooms spring up after rain."*

"The soldiers of the government army fight badly. Their sympathies are with the Reds, and not with Nanking."**

The missionary, Thompson, notes:

"In order to prevent the Reds from occupying important strategic position, armed forces three times superior to the forces of the Reds are required. Their enormous advantage is to be found in their definite singleness of purpose and consistently pursued democracy. . . ."***

In connection with the approach of the Red troops to the direct sphere of Japanese aggression, the *national-revolutionary meaning of Soviet movement* assumes more and more actual importance.

An English bourgeois newspaper notes this side of the question in especial distress:

" . . . The position is all the more dangerous in view of the fact that the insurgents are not advocating Communism and social-revolution, but national resistance. . . ."

A Chinese bourgeois newspaper, the *Takungpao*, writes:

"Manchuria is forgotten, and Northern China is in a critical

* *Peiping-Tientsin Times*, October 8, 1935.

** *Ibid.*, October 12, 1935.

*** *Oriental Affairs*, October, 1935.

position. The soldiers of the government army formerly believed that after the annihilation of the Communists, the government would start reconstruction work. But now both the soldiers and the civil population are extremely disappointed in the inactivity of the government. And therein lies the reason why the soldiers fight so feebly against the Reds. . . ."

The Japanese imperialists are most keenly conscious of this side of the Chinese Soviet movement. The entire Japanese bourgeois press is sounding the alarm about the "Communist danger" in Northern China.

"If Northern China and Inner Mongolia are affected by Communist influence, it will constitute a serious menace to Japanese interests and our security on the Asiatic mainland," writes the *Hotsi*.

In the utterances of responsible Japanese military men one invariably feels the real alarm which is being felt about the successes of the Soviet movement in Northwest China also. (No small part in these utterances is played by the desire to use the successes of the Chinese Red Army to justify Japanese aggression in the northwesterly direction.) The Japanese imperialists understand full well that the only really consistent anti-imperialist force inside the country is the Chinese Soviets which openly advocate a real program of struggle against Japanese slavery. The national-revolutionary importance of the Chinese Soviets is still further increased today by the fact that under the guidance of the Communist Party of China they are becoming *the kernel of a broad, national, anti-imperialist front*.

Besides the Soviets which represent the working class and the peasantry, there are other forces in China capable of participating in the struggle against the foreign yoke.

The attempt made on the life of Wan Tsin Whei, the most consistent representative of the Japonophile policy of the Nanking government, testifies to the extent to which tremendous indignation has accumulated among the masses of the people, against the capitulatory line of the leaders of the Kuomintang.

The Chinese students, intellectuals, and other petty-bourgeois sections of the town population are not only hostile to the Japanese interventionists and the treacherous line of Chiang Kai-shek, but are already definitely sympathetic with the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet movement which are *actually* leading the struggle against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese representatives. Even certain sections of the national-reformist bourgeoisie and individual generals and officers are inclined towards the idea of a united front with the Chinese Soviets in the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

The Chiang Kai-shek terror suppresses all manifestations of the national-liberation movement inside the country. The Kuomintang censorship hushes up all information of the revolutionary processes taking place among the masses of the people. However, in spite of all the efforts of the censorship, certain facts became known.

A new party has been formed in Shanghai—"The Chinese National-revolutionary League", led by Generals Tsai Tin-kai, Chen Min-shu and other former leaders of the Nineteenth army which fought against the Japanese in Shanghai in January, 1932. This party is putting forward a program of determined struggle against Japanese imperialism, establishment of a united front with the Chinese Soviet movement, a policy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, democratization of the government, and arming of the masses, etc. The government troops which mutinied recently in Kweichow (the former troops of General Wang Chia-li) have declared that they do not want to fight against the Communists. In Hankow recently anti-Japanese placards were discovered in the barracks, and on the garrison shooting-ground the soldiers and officers used targets depicting the Japanese and inscribed with the words "revenge". On July 9, in Shanghai, at the trial of Tu Tung-Yuan, the editor of the *New Life*, who printed an "insulting attack against the Japanese Emperor, a group of students held an anti-Japanese demonstration with the slogan of "Down with Chiang Kai-shek, traitor and hound of Japanese imperialism!" The famous anti-Japanese manifesto issued by Soong Ching-ling, the widow of Sun Yat-sen, has now become a document, the signing of which is considered a question of honor for every honest Chinese patriot. The number of persons expressing a wish to append their signatures to the document grows every day. Among them are prominent professors, business men, generals, etc.

We have witness of the state of mind of the Chinese intellectuals in a new book by Doctor Lin Yu-tan, the editor of the *China Critic*, in which, incidentally, the author writes:

"The optimism and joyful idealism of the year 1926 has changed to the cynicism and disillusionment in 1935. . . . All decency is lost, for national self-consciousness is lost. . . . A land is indeed insane if a general, who hands over a whole province (Jehol) without a single battle, and at the same time uses 200 military lorries to evacuate his concubines and treasures, enjoys the favors of the National government."

The author compares China with the Soviet Union:

"Russia has freed itself of its old shell and has become the youngest in the family of peoples; it shines with hope and energy." (*Asia*, October, 1935.)

In one of his lectures, Professor Wu Kang of the Canton University appealed to the students to fight for the creation of "a government of national defense". Chang Chen-san of the Peking University made a speech in which he called for national unity, for the organization of national defense against the Japanese militarists, and for an alliance with Soviet Russia. Sensing the spirit of the times, General Feng Yu-kiang has written a book in which he advocates the formation of a "Committee of National Defense", and active national resistance to the Japanese offensive.

A recent discussion on the question of "the lessons of the Brest-

Litovsk Peace" is extremely edifying. The discussion is interesting because actually, in a veiled literary form, the capitulatory policy of the Nanking government was subjected to violent criticism. As we know, Chiang Kai-shek and Van Tsin-vei justify their policy of concessions by references to the example of the Brest peace. These servitors of Japanese imperialism assert that China is in a similar position to that of Soviet Russia in 1918, and that "tactics of temporary retreat need to be resorted to, so as to gain a breathing space".

Dr. Ting Wen-Kiang who made a speech in August of this year giving a "theoretical" basis to this official viewpoint declared that the Chinese government ought to be prepared to retreat even as far as the Chinese "Kamchatka", namely, the provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan. Ting's views and, thereby the views of the Nanking leaders, were subjected to sharp criticism. Professor Hu Shih, a prominent Chinese bourgeois thinker, stressed the point that the chief lesson that China should draw from the history of Soviet foreign policy is the "Leninist idea of the need to defend one's own territory to the last drop of blood". Replying to Ting, the writer, Sui Gun-da points out the following:

"The leaders of China should take from Lenin his invincible will to struggle, his determination to offer deadly resistance to the enemy."

Yui Chen writes:

"We must lead the struggle against imperialist aggression to a victorious conclusion, after the example of the heroic leaders of the Soviet Union. If Mr. Ting resorts to historical analogies, then why not take the example of the Ethiopian people who are fighting for the common cause of the emancipation of the weak, oppressed peoples. Our only way out is to struggle against the foreign oppressors together with all the oppressed nations and with all states whose attitude towards us is that of equals. . . ."

A well-known writer, Men, criticizes Tin, and calls to mind the fact that "the Japanese become more arrogant, the more we retreat. Their aim is to seize the whole of China".

In this discussion we can easily feel the national-revolutionary leanings of a considerable section of the Chinese intellectuals. There are enormous social forces inside the country which are prepared to take up the national-liberation struggle. The widespread anti-imperialist sentiments and feelings have not yet to a sufficient extent developed into action. An honorable historic task lies upon the shoulders of the Communist Party of China, namely, to organize this growing and mighty national-revolutionary upsurge, on the basis of a united anti-imperialist front.

"What we want most of all is to see China a nation where Communism cannot get a foothold", recently declared General Isogai, the Japanese Military Attache to Nanking. We quite understand the fears of the Japanese general. The successes of the Communists in the creation of a united national front is the only real means of saving China from its conversion into a Japanese colony.

William Gallacher

THE FIRST M.P. TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT ELECTED UPON A COMMUNIST PROGRAM

COMRADE GALLACHER, a metal worker, the first Member of Parliament elected upon the platform of the Communist Party of Great Britain, is one of the old militant workers who constitute the most precious capital of the Communist Party in Great Britain.

Gallacher was born in December, 1891, in Paisley, the great cotton-thread center of the Coats' Thread Combine. A brass-finisher by trade, he has been closely connected all his life with the working masses of Scotland and England.

At ten years of age, he began work as an errand boy to a provisions store. He became an apprentice brass-finisher, and, on finishing his apprenticeship, joined the trade union. Since then, he has been an active fighter in the labor movement.

In 1904, he joined the Social-Democratic Party, which became the British Socialist Party in 1911. He was closely connected in all this period up to the war and during the war with the Scottish school teacher and revolutionary, John MacLean.

Gallacher, in 1914-1918, fought courageously against the imperialist war, and particularly against Henderson, Barnes and the other social patriots of the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress. His struggle against the war was never confounded with the blatant pacifism of MacDonald and the Independent Labor Party.

During the first strike movements on the Clyde, Gallacher was an active participator and was elected chairman of the Labor Withholding Committee, the precursor of the famous Clyde Workers' Committee and the Shop Stewards' Movement—the revolutionary current during the war in the British working class movement.

As a result of an anti-militarist article which appeared in *The Worker*, the official organ of the Clyde Workers' Committee, Gallacher, with the editor and printer, was arrested and sent to prison for a year.

In 1917, he actively participated, with the late Comrade Arthur McManus and with Comrade Tom Bell, in the Leeds Convention to set up Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

In 1919, during the 40-hour strike movement in Scotland, Gallacher was in the front ranks of a monster demonstration in Glasgow. The police savagely attacked the demonstrators, and Gallacher was badly smashed over the head with a policeman's club and had to be carried into the municipal chambers. He was subsequently arrested and sentenced to three months in prison.

From the first days of the October Revolution Comrade Gallacher has been a staunch defender of the U.S.S.R. He attended the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, representing the revolutionary current of the Shop Stewards, and polemized with Comrade Lenin

on the question of the role of the trade unions and the Party, and the question of the participation of Communists in Parliament. Lenin referred to Gallacher in "*Left-Wing Communism* as a comrade "imbued with noble proletarian hatred for the bourgeois class politicians".

On his return from the Second Congress, Gallacher fulfilled his pledge to Comrade Lenin to unite with the Young Communist Party of Great Britain, formed on August 1, 1920. In 1921, the Communist Labor and "Left" groups were united with the Communist Party of Great Britain and Gallacher was elected to the Central Committee. Since then, he has remained a member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau.

In 1923, Gallacher was again arrested for an agitational speech in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. In October, 1925, he was one of the twelve Communist leaders arrested, and was again sent to prison for twelve months.

Comrade Gallacher has attended several plenums of the E.C.C.I. and has been several times elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, he was elected as a candidate to the Presidium of the E.C.C.I.

With the election of Gallacher to the British Parliament, the voice of the British workers, and especially the revolutionary miners of Scotland, will be heard in Westminster, for Gallacher has the reputation of always having his ear to the ground and quickly sensing the vital needs of the workers.

Worker, fighter for socialism in the Party's ranks for 31 years, also good trade unionist—such is the representative of our C.P.G.B. in Parliament.

Faced with a ferocious and powerful imperialism, the British workers will find in Gallacher one who will raise his voice in defense of their deepest aspirations, the demand for bread, for peace and freedom, for the united front of all workers and oppressed toilers, and for the proletarian revolution.



WILLIAM GALLACHER, M.P.

The General Elections in England

A FEW GOOD EXAMPLES OF OUR PARTY'S CAMPAIGN

WE give here a few good examples of the activities of the Communist Party of Great Britain in connection with the general election campaign in West Fife where our Comrade Gallacher was elected.

In the first of these documents we see that our Party approached the miners in an extremely concrete fashion. The special appeal to women deserves particular mention in that it shows very clearly the conditions in which the children live in West Fife, and reveals how the National government that wants to spend £200,000,000 on guns, bombs, and poison gases does nothing at all for the children. It also raises most concretely the question of the demands of the women of West Fife.

Equally clear is the third appeal which gives the reply of the Conservative candidate as to his attitude to wages, of the Means Test and the abolition of mining royalties.

Then, in the special appeal to the miners and their wives, our Party denounces in a most concrete fashion the position not only of the National government, but of the Labor candidate who, in all his activities splits the miners' organizations of the district and helps the mine-owners.

We consider it useful to give extracts from these documents, for they show how our Party in one district of Great Britain has carried out the instructions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, particularly in connection with the defense of the immediate demands of different categories of workers, with the concrete campaign against war, and the struggle for united action in unmasking the enemies of the workers and the Right reformist leaders who are always sabotaging the workers' struggle. These examples can also serve to help our Parties.

ANDRE MARTY.

* * *

"BLOW AT REACTION"—Gallacher

(From the Daily Worker, November 16, 1935)

I REGARD my splendid vote and victory in West Fife as a condemnation of the policy of the National government and a striking blow to the forces of reaction which are preparing for war and new attacks upon the workers.

It is an outspoken expression of the demand for working class unity in the fight for peace and the improvement of working class conditions.

The result is a tribute to the big support for the Communist policy. I will gladly undertake to carry out this policy to the credit of my Party and to advance the working class movement as a whole.

The big factor responsible for my election is the hatred of the Fife miners for the policy of the National government, and their determina-

tion to go forward for united national action for an increase of 2s. per day.

The great task now confronting our Party is to win the solid support of all workers for the demands of the miners, to get into closer contact with the labor and trade union and cooperative organizations, and to build working class unity against this National government.

I must also point out that I have never been in an election campaign with such a splendid team of active workers, men and women, who spared no effort in striving might and main to ensure a victory. Without this loyal band it would not have been possible to get such a result.

The united mine workers of Scotland were a tower of strength. Their activity in building unity in the pits and leading the fight of all miners has won the admiration of everyone who support the miners' demands.

It was an inspiration to work with the U.M.S. comrades, and its splendid record among the Fife miners was a big factor in the election campaign.

Everything is now in our favor for building the unity of the Fife miners along the lines already proposed by the U.M.S. The Fife miners have shown that they want unity, and I pledge myself to throw all my energy into the job of building this unity as part of the great united movement throughout the country as a whole against the coal owners and the National government.

* * *

TO THE ELECTORS OF WEST FIFE MILLIONS FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS—NOT A PENNY FOR WAR

THE National government is trying to make a "scare" election. In 1931 "Honest" Philip Snowden was used to create a panic about the collapse of the pound ("The pound won't be worth a farthing"); in 1935 "Honest" Mr. Baldwin is trying to make a panic about the collapse of the Navy.

Big Business wants Big Profits, and Baldwin and Company want to spend hundreds of millions on armaments in order to satisfy them.

Fifty nations, we are told, are working at Geneva to maintain peace, but at the same time we are told that we need more war preparations. This is a policy of madness.

If fifty nations are cooperating for peace—this should mean a decrease in armaments.

More millions for armaments means more economies at the expense of the workers.

WORKING CLASS UNITY THE KEY TO PROGRESS

We can get these things if we have working class unity. To achieve unity of all the forces of the workers, and to defeat the hated National government we are supporting the Labor Party in all parts of the country.

In this Constituency (West Fife) we put before the Divisional Labor Party and Mr. Adamson a proposal for a Selection Conference

to decide on a candidate against the National government. They have refused this offer.

We appeal to all members of the Labor Party. In this critical situation, when the fight for 2s. a day, the fight of the unemployed, and the fight for peace are at stake, it is *not enough to get rid of* the representatives of the National government. This must be done. Milne represents millions for the armament makers and increased poverty for the workers. At Valleyfield he made the following replies to a series of questions:

Are you in favor of the 2s. increase for the miners?

Answer: no.

Are you in favor of the abolition of the Means Test?

Answer: no.

Are you in favor of the abolition of Mining Royalties?

Answer: no.

No miner can vote for Milne.

But it is also necessary to advance the cause of the workers. We say with the utmost seriousness to *all workers*—Mr. Adamson will not strengthen the Labor Party as a force fighting on behalf of the workers. Mr. Adamson will be a drag on the wheel of the Labor government.

Gallacher is, and has always been, a fighter for the working class. His return will mean a strong force driving the Labor government forward.

THE ISSUE BEFORE ALL

This is the issue: drive out the National government which stands for Big Business and Big Profits, which stands behind the mine-owners.

Work and vote for a real workers' candidate who will use the parliamentary platform as a battleground against the enemies of the workers.

Gallacher for West Fife Means a Real Victory for the Workers.

* * *

TO THE WOMEN OF WEST FIFE

FELLOW ELECTORS,

I wish to make a special appeal to you in connection with the coming election for Parliament. There is no section of the community that has a greater interest in the questions that are being raised than the women-folk.

If wages are low—and they are; if rents and prices are high, the burden of carrying on falls on the wives and mothers.

If housing is bad, and the medical and social services scanty, it is the mothers and children who have to bear the suffering in ill-health and bodily diseases.

In the County of Fife the Medical Officer reports:

"Three thousand five hundred and seventy-six children were born alive during 1934. One hundred and fifty babies were 'dead-born'.

"There were 145 premature births, chiefly due to the poor health of the mothers. Two hundred and twenty-four babies died before they were 12 months of age.

"They died mainly from pneumonia, bronchitis and diar-

rhoea, due to lack of warmth and the prevalence of damp living conditions, combined with inability to digest the food. The latter due mainly to undernourishment of the mothers."

The National government proposes to spend £200,000,000 on guns, bombs and poison gas. *Against this every working class mother must vote.*

Millions can be obtained, millions must be spent, but not for profits for the armament firms. We can spend millions raising the wages and making the pits safe for the miners. When the men go out, mothers, wives and sisters wonder if they will ever come back. *This state of affairs can and must be altered. The pits can be made safe if we spend the money. Every miner's wife and mother should vote for this.*

We will spend millions rebuilding the mining villages and making the homes secure for the mothers and children.

We will spend millions on extending medical and social services to guard the health of every worker, young and old.

We will spend millions to provide adequate old age pensions at 60, so that all old people will be relieved from care and worry.

We will abolish the Means Test, which makes life a constant dread for thousands of working class families, and will spend millions in providing work at trade union rates for the unemployed.

We will withdraw the unfair taxation imposed by the National government on the Cooperative.

We will oppose by every means the dark forces that, through slander and abuse, are trying to penetrate the coalfields with the intention of spreading discord through attacks on religion and nationality.

We will do everything to unite the forces of the workers, men and women, in such a way that a great future full of hope and happiness can be opened up before us.

With hard work, fighting for a better life, we can win. But this means making a real fight in Parliament.

The National government candidate represents your enemies.

The Labor nominee refuses to support the Valleyfield miners, as he refused to support other sections, against the Fife Coal Company. He can be of no service to the working class.

I appeal, therefore, to all working class women, to all wives and mothers, to give me their support on November 14, for a real fight to end the hard conditions and the terrible suffering that has been imposed on so many working class families.

Yours fraternally,

WM. GALLACHER.

* * *

TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF WEST FIFE

YELLOW ELECTORS:

The National government, taking advantage of the international situation, has decided on a snap General Election. They hope by this to take the people off their guard, and so, in the name of defense, get a

mandate for a new expenditure of millions for armaments in preparation for new imperialist wars.

The National government is not interested in or concerned with the defense of the people of this country. A government that fails to defend the people in time of peace will not defend them in time of war.

What effort has there been to defend the miners? During the past year there were almost 1,400 miners killed in the pits of this country and close to 200,000 injured. Mr. Ebby Edwards, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, has rightly stated that the miners' occupation is the hardest and most dangerous in the country and the poorest paid. The miners' demand for 2s. a day increase, and the terrible exposure of the conditions in the pits and mining villages of the country have broken through all the sham and hypocrisy of the National government and its claim to be interested in the defense of the people.

The miners' fight against the mine-owners and the National government—which stands behind the mine-owners—for the 2s per day and safety in the mines is one of the outstanding issues in this election. This is especially the case in West Fife, where the general well-being of the community is so closely associated with the standard of living of the miners.

AGRICULTURAL, RAILWAY, AND OTHER WORKERS

We cannot fail to take note of the large number of agricultural workers in this constituency and the neglect from which they have always suffered. Time and again, when questions affecting the agricultural areas have been under discussion in the House of Commons, the landlords and big farmers have always been well represented and the greatest care shown for their welfare, but all too little consideration for the smaller farmer or agricultural laborer. The recent discussions around the Beet Subsidy were a glaring example of the attitude of the last Parliament to the different interests in the agricultural areas.

As with agricultural workers, so with the railway workers. The big companies have their interests continually watched over and guarded in the House of Commons. At the present moment, when the railway workers are demanding a restoration of the 1931 cuts, they should vote only for those candidates who will use the parliamentary platform to advance this and all other demands of the railwaymen.

This applies also to the workers in all other industries. They are all affected by the general low standards of living and the insecurity associated with the present conditions of industry. Low wages and high rents make for maternal mortality and malnutrition, the terrible scourge of all working class areas.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The appalling poverty and hardship that has been imposed on millions of our fellows—men, women and children—should suffice to condemn the National government in the eyes of intelligent men and women.

Not only the imposition of the criminal Means Test, but the attempt to introduce an actual starvation scale of relief at the beginning of

year, is the clearest proof that the National government is not the savior, but the destroyer of the people. If the National government is returned, a new attack on the same lines will be made on the unemployed. With all my strength I will fight for the abolition of the Means Test, for increased winter relief, for work schemes at trade union rates, for full maintenance for the unemployed.

THE COOPERATIVES

Just as all shopkeepers and professional workers are dependent on the general prosperity of the working class, so also in a still greater degree is the cooperative movement. Progress and well-being amongst the workers mean progress in the cooperatives as well as amongst the general distributive trades and professional classes. A visit to any of the distressed areas will show that the distributive trades and professional workers are all seriously affected by the terrible poverty that affects these areas.

The cooperative, as a great working class movement, has been attacked by the National government, and will be subject to further attacks if it is returned. As a life-long cooperator, I will assist in every way to develop the cooperatives and to defend the movement from all attacks, whatever be their source.

WAR AND PEACE

The people of this country want peace. This was made evident by the support given for the peace ballot. But the National government intends to use this election to prepare for war. Even while it gives lip-service to the League of Nations and to collective security, it sends its fleet, its war planes and its army to the Mediterranean and Egypt. I stand for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, embracing as it does a policy of complete disarmament. I stand for the nations who are for peace, operating economic and financial sanctions for the defense of Ethiopian independence and against the wanton imperialist aggression of fascist Italy.

But the operating of the League machinery in the interests of peace does not demand more armaments; on the contrary, it demands a continual reduction of armaments. The National government spends millions every minute on the weapons of destruction. We want to spend every penny and every minute on progress and construction. Bright, hygienic homes at moderate rents within the reach of all. Large, well-equipped schools, with efficient restaurant accommodation where adequate school feeding can be undertaken. Rest homes in the country, maternal and child welfare centers—for such things as these, with adequate pensions at 60, I will be prepared to fight at all times.

Not big armies and big navies, but healthy mothers and happy children—this should be the aim of every elector in West Fife.

To ensure the defeat of the National government, the Communist Party, to which I belong, is giving general support to the Labor Party throughout the country for the return of a Labor government based on the will of the people for peace and progress.

My Party stands for the uniting of all working class and peace

forces against the National government. With this end in view, we put before the West Fife Labor Party a proposal for a selection conference to decide on the candidate to oppose the National government representative. This they have refused. That the constituency was won for the National government at the last election was only made possible by the character of the representatives for many years prior to 1931.

The so-called "Labor" representative showed himself time and again, as he continues to do, more concerned with friendship for the mine-owners than for the welfare of the miners. The Valleyfield, Kingseat, and other disputes in the area provide abundant proof of this.

West Fife must get rid of the representatives of the National government, but there can be no going back to what obtained before. The long traditions of West Fife, the part played in winning the shorter working day, in maintaining wage standards and in safety inspections at the pits, all demand a change in representation that will carry with it the promise of a real fight on behalf of the working class.

Steps in this direction have already been taken by my Party comrades, Abe Moffat, Jimmie Stewart, Alex Moffat, John M'Arthur, Bob Eadie and others in the fight against the mine-owners and the economy measures of the local authorities in Fifeshire.

My long association with West Fife and my participation in the many struggles during the past 25 years, as well as my record in the working class movement as a whole, are a guarantee that I will not fail you if I am elected.

With the full support of my Party I will devote myself to the service of the working class and to the cause of peace with which the interest of the workers is so closely associated.

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM GALLACHER.

* * *

TO THE MINERS OF WEST FIFE AND THEIR WOMENFOLK:
ABE MOFFAT GIVES TELLING EXPOSURE OF COAL OWNERS
AND THEIR FRIEND ADAMSON, AND CALLS FOR YOU
TO WORK AND VOTE FOR WILLIAM GALLACHER

THE desperate plight of the miners can be summed up in a statement made by Professor Moss when dealing with the high sickness rate amongst the miners, especially in Scotland, arising from low wages. This Professor, not in any way sympathetic towards the miners, declares that an investigation into the amount of food consumed by a miner revealed that almost one-half of the food consumed consists of bread, margarine, dripping and butter—bread alone representing one-third. He further stated that a miner can only maintain his output at the expense of undermining his health—either that or he has to get sufficient food to maintain his output at the expense of his wife and family. According to Professor Moss, it is not surprising to find disease, malnutrition, and a general decline in the health standard of the miners and their families. For example, in Fife, the Medical Officer of Health reports that half of the children attaining the age of five years suffer from some disease or defect.

POVERTY VERSUS THE COAL OWNERS' PROFITS

In spite of this acute poverty, the coalowners in Fife and in Scotland continue to extract huge profits, although they claim that "the pits are being run at a loss". Eleven coal companies in Scotland, out of almost a hundred companies, declared a net profit alone of £704,611 in 1934, after income tax, depreciation and directors' fees.

The Fife Coal Company declared a profit of £120,194; the Coalbrookdale Co. (Blairhall), £144,849; Wilsons and Clyde Coal Co. (GlenCraig), £4,656. The Fife Coal Company covers most of the Fife pits, and the Abercromby Coal Company comes next.

How can the coalowners continue to draw profits while they declare a "loss"? From the net proceeds from the selling price of coal at the pit-head, after meeting all costs other than wages, 85 per cent goes towards wages, and 15 per cent towards profits (this is an extortionate sum to be guaranteed to the coalowners under the agreement). Should the 85 per cent of the net proceeds towards wages be insufficient to make the miners up to an 8/- minimum wage, then it is permissible to take a share of the coalowners' 15 per cent profits, and add this to the miners' share. For example: it may require 5 per cent of the coalowners' share to be added to the wages portion of 85 per cent to make the miners up to the 8/- minimum.

This leaves the coalowners with 10 per cent of the net proceeds, but the fact that they have not received their full 15 per cent enables them to declare a "loss". So that, under the existing agreement, the coalowners can be drawing profits and at the same time declare a "loss". This is how the miners and the general public are swindled and deceived by believing that the mining industry is unable to meet the wage demands of the workers.

The average selling price of coal at the pit-head in Scotland is 12/- per ton—but before it reaches the consumer, say in London, the selling price of a ton of coal is as high as £2, 8/-. Huge profits are extracted from coal from the time it leaves the pit-head and reaches the consumer, but the miners' wages are determined by the selling price at the pit-head only, and they do not get a share of the profits after it leaves the pit-head. This again reveals how the miners are robbed and the general public misled as to the miners' wages compared with the selling price of coal.

Then we have the by-product plants belonging to various coal companies. Coal is supplied very cheap to those subsidiary concerns, thereby making for enormous profits. But profits of by-product plants or subsidiary companies are not taken into consideration when discussing miners' wages. Owners pocket the profit and the miners get nothing.

The British coal owners have made profits of £14,391,742 since 1930-1934, despite the fact that these were the worst years in the crisis of the mining industry. Outside of the coal owners' profits, and to those who say there is no money in the mining industry to grant the 2/- wage increase, we direct their attention to the following:

1. The financiers in Britain extract £22,500,000 per year in interest from this sweated industry, which could provide work for 150,000 miners at £3 per week.

2. Royalties draw £5,000,000 per year, which could provide work for 40,000 miners. As a means of reducing the heavy toll of deaths and accidents in the pits, the following measures could be put into operation: (a) the seven-hour day would absorb 60,000 unemployed miners; (b) the abolition of overtime could absorb 20,000 men; (c) to employ an additional ten men at each pit for safety precautions in Britain would absorb 20,000 unemployed miners.

Therefore, on the present basis of production and with the elimination of all the parasitic burdens on the industry, the miners can have their 2/- wage increase and more, and the whole of the unemployed miners provided with work immediately.

To obtain this, we must defeat the National government and all its candidates who stand solidly behind the coal owners, the financiers and royalty owners.

Without going into a long history of Adamson—well-known as the champion splitter of the Fife Miners' Union; the man who set up a new union in Fife in 1929, when he refused to accept the ballot vote of the Fife miners, and a close friend of the coal owners—we need only direct the attention of the miners to the fact that he held the seat in West Fife from 1910 to 1931. The reason why Milne, National government candidate, won this seat in 1931 was due to the policy pursued by Adamson in assisting the coal owners at all times, even to the extent of compelling the miners to work the illegal eight-hour day in 1931 and authorizing the drafting of extra police into the Fife coal field while he was Secretary of State for Scotland.

This criminal policy carried on by Adamson led to a situation wherein the majority of the miners became so disgusted that they refused to vote for Adamson any longer, and in consequence he paved the way for Milne, the spokesman of Big Business, being elected as member for a working class constituency. *With a working class representative such as William Gallacher, this would never have happened.*

SOME FACTS REGARDING ADAMSON'S POLICY DURING THE PAST WAR

1. In 1934 the Fife Coal Company imposed wage cuts upon the Kelty brickworkers varying from 6d. to 1/- per shift. At the time this happened, Adamson attended a banquet of the Fife Coal Company in Kelty, in connection with the opening of a new brickwork, and gave the toast to C. C. Reid, general manager of the Fife Coal Company, who had imposed the wage reductions on the Kelty brickworkers. All the good food, wines, etc., at this banquet would be paid for at the expense of the poor Kelty brickworkers, who were being called upon to suffer a further reduction of their already miserable living standards.

2. *Safety and workmen's inspectors are a vital question for the miners.* While Adamson never at any time carried out inspections on behalf of the miners, he came out along with the coal owners to oppose every ballot vote of the miners to prevent the appointment of workmen's inspectors.

3. In February this year he failed to hold one meeting of protest in the West Fife constituency against Part II of the Unemployment Act—despite the fact that this notorious bill affected thousands of

employed and unemployed workers in West Fife. He definitely refused to associate himself with the united front, even at the request of his own loyal supporters. Had it not been for the united front at that time, the plight of the unemployed and employed would have been considerably worse than it is today.

4. During the "Dubbie" Miners' Strike, Adamson came out on the side of the coal owners and openly stated in the capitalist press that the miners were wrong and had acted illegally in breaking their contract with the owners. In spite of this the U.M.S. were successful in defending the miners in court, and showed to Adamson and his friends, the coal owners, that the "Dubbie" miners were right in taking action to defend their conditions.

5. The latest development at Kingseat Colliery last month is the greatest condemnation against Adamson, and exposes him as the true and loyal friend of the coal owners. At Kingseat Pit the miners are working for a starvation wage—lower than the vast majority of the pits in Fife. Adamson agreed, along with the Kingseat Miners, to take a ballot vote for the lodging of 14 days' notice to compel the company to pay strippers, brushers, etc., a wage of 9/6 per shift, and 8/- to oncost workers. The miners responded well, 197 voting in favor of lodging notices, and 27 against—7 to 1 of a majority. This so surprised Adamson that a few days later he went back to a meeting of the Kingseat miners and advised them to withhold lodging their notices because, since taking the ballot vote, he had met the coal company, gone over their books with them, and found that the "poor" coal owners were running the pit at a loss of £150 per week. By the use of this lying statement he got a small vote of the men—31 in favor and 19 against—delaying lodging of the notices. He accepted this small vote in preference to the ballot vote because it suited the interests of the company.

Fortunately, the United Mineworkers of Scotland made inquiries into the financial position of the Kingseat Coal Company, and ascertained the following facts: (a) that the capital invested in the Kingseat Coal Company was £8,000; (b) that from 1924-1934 they had made profits of £27,000—three and a half times more money than was invested; and that during the same period the company had laid aside a reserve fund of £29,000 for a "rainy day".

In addition to this, their assets are valued at £49,000, so that instead of "running the pit at a loss", as was lamented by Mr. Adamson, the Kingseat Coal Company have made a small fortune at the expense of the Kingseat miners and their families.

6. Now we have the *Valleyfield strike*, which has continued for three weeks, against the imposition of a "dirt scale". In reality, a further wage cut for the Valleyfield miners. Adamson has endeavored, both prior to and during the strike, to get the "dirt scale" accepted. Before the Valleyfield miners took strike action, Adamson negotiated with the coal company, and the result was a 44 pound dirt scale on each tub. The miners came out on strike against this dirt scale.

Since the strike commenced, Adamson has employed his union law agent to go and address the Valleyfield men to persuade them that the coal owners were within their legal rights in imposing this "dirt scale".

In spite of all this, however, *the Valleyfield miners have stood out to a man against the "dirt scale"*.

Not satisfied with this, Adamson got his executive committee to decide that the Valleyfield miners return to work and allow negotiations to proceed, despite the fact that his negotiations had already been the means of a "dirt scale" of 44 pounds per tub being introduced.

It is not surprising that the Valleyfield miners and the local committee of Adamson's union took a decision "not to allow Adamson to negotiate any longer on their behalf in the present dispute". Now the Valleyfield miners stand solid against the coal company, but Adamson refuses to defend them, and bitterly opposes any question of county action in support of the Valleyfield miners' fight.

This policy pursued by Adamson both at Kingseat and Valleyfield runs counter to the policy of the M.F.G.B. In answer to the demand for the 2/- flat increase for all miners, the coal owners claim that "the industry cannot afford it"—the same argument as put up by Mr. Adamson at Kingseat.

The attitude of Adamson, therefore, undermines the whole campaign of the M.F.G.B., and assists the coal owners and the National government in their present stand of callously refusing to consider any wage increase for the miners.

COMPARE GALLACHER'S POLICY AND RECORD WITH THAT OF THE OTHER CANDIDATES

Contrast the policy of William Gallacher with the policies of the other candidates. In all the Fife miners' struggles, *Gallacher*, along with his Party comrades in *West Fife*, has been on the side of the miners and against the coal owners. In 1931, Gallacher was fighting against the illegal eight-hour day. In 1932, when Bowhill and other West Fife miners were threatened with wage cuts, Gallacher was at the pits agitating on behalf of the miners. Early this year, when Adamson refused to fight against Part II of the Unemployment Act, Gallacher was in the constituency addressing meetings and marching with the miners and their wives.

Today, in the fight for peace, Gallacher offers his services to the peace movements in Cowdenbeath and Kirkcaldy, to speak on their behalf, while Adamson emphatically refuses to associate himself with the peace movement to stop the slaughter of defenseless men, women and children in Ethiopia, and to prevent the outbreak of another world war.

On this basis and examination of the different candidates standing in West Fife, the workers, in loyalty to themselves, their women and children, and to their own class, can *only vote for Gallacher* as the *real workers' candidate*, who will carry the banner of working class struggle right into the House of Commons.

Forward to a Record Vote for National Action to Secure the 2/- Per Shift Increase.

Forward to the Defeat of the National Government Candidate and the Return of the Workers' Champion.

William Gallacher for West Fife,

The Struggle Against the Italo-Ethiopian War

IN ITALY

By BATISTA

FROM the very beginning of the hostile activities carried on by fascism against Ethiopia, the Communist Party of Italy has done its utmost to explain to the masses the rapacious, aggressive, imperialist character of this war, and has refuted Mussolini's cynical lie about Italy bringing the age-long civilization of Rome to the desolate land of Ethiopia". In its propaganda the Party has shown that what fascism is bringing to Ethiopia is not civilization, but death and destruction and the bloody annihilation of an almost defenseless population. The enemy of the Italian people is not in Addis Ababa, but in Rome, is not the Ethiopian people who are defending their own independence and their own land, but fascism, which is increasing the distress and oppression of the masses of the people of Italy for purposes of imperialist expansion, and is leading the country into catastrophe. The defeat of Italian imperialism in this bandit war will make it easier for the masses of the people of Italy to overthrow the fascist yoke.

The Communist Party of Italy has been working and is still working to organize mass revolutionary action against the war. In the manifesto headed "Save our country from catastrophe", and distributed by the Central Committee of our Party throughout Italy in tens of thousands of copies, it says:

"Form revolutionary groups in the barracks, on board ship, and in the airforce units. Explain to the soldiers the rapacious aims of this war, which are directed against the Italian people. Organize the struggle to improve your living conditions and against the intolerable discipline. Organize collective refusal to be dispatched to Africa. Remember that your duty at the front is to fraternize with the Ethiopian troops, to organize collective refusal to go into battle, and to desert from the front with your weapons. Use the weapons you have for the fight against those who oppress Italy."

The manifesto appeals for an increased struggle inside the mass fascist organizations to make use of the smallest legal possibilities to carry on the struggle for increased wages and pensions to the families of the mobilized soldiers, and for the right to elect freely representatives to the trade unions, and leaders of local trade union organizations; every possible means must be used to organize protests and demonstrations to prevent the dispatch of troops to Africa.

* * *

Of course, the fact must not be ignored that in the course of thirteen years of fascist dictatorship fascism has succeeded in arousing chauvinist

feelings in certain sections of the population. But the fascist press lies when it asserts that the army and the Italian people are enthusiastic in entering the war, and that if the fascist government were to refuse to make war, "200,000 rifles in Africa would begin to shoot of their own accord".

The war in Ethiopia has already brought new restrictions and privations to the Italian masses, in the shape of the appropriation of agricultural products, increased taxation, and incredibly high prices for foodstuffs. The war is depriving families of their breadwinners, is hurling thousands and tens of thousands of young men to their death, and inflicting epidemics and privations upon them. It is increasing all the existing class contradictions to an enormous degree, is causing discontent, and is consequently driving ever increasing masses of the people into political action.

Even foreign correspondents who sympathize with fascism cannot hide the unpopularity, displayed in Italy, of the war against Ethiopia. Contrary to the assertions of the fascist press, those who are mobilized do not at all set out for the front with songs on their lips, but they are collected by the gendarmes at their homes or their places of work, without any preliminary notice being given to them; they are put in automobiles and driven to the military districts, without any opportunity of taking leave of their families. The population offers the following explanation for this kind of mobilization: during the last war, despite the fact that anti-government parties existed legally, those who were mobilized were allowed a few days to spend with their families, but now that the fascists are in power, those who are mobilized are dispatched to the front like prisoners.

If the fascist newspapers are to be believed, then the conclusion can be drawn that the Italian workers are thinking of nothing else but how quickly to join the volunteers and go to the war. Actually the situation as to how the volunteers join is as follows: meetings of the militia, the fascists and the fascist youth are arranged behind closed doors and in the presence of the local authorities. One of the fascist leaders asks those present: "Do you love Italy?" And having obtained an answer in the affirmative from all those present, their leader invites each of them to send in an application to join the volunteers. As only a few join up even after this, each of those present at the meeting is sent a written invitation from the authorities on the following day asking them to join the volunteers; the invitation is delivered by a policeman, who waits while the signature to join is given. All that remains to be done is either to sign or to suffer persecution. However, in spite of all compulsion and threats, there are daring people who refuse to sign the proposal made by the authorities. This, of course, does not signify that there are no members of the militia and the fascists who join up voluntarily, but in these cases their "voluntary action" is primarily dictated by poverty and the hope of securing bread for their families, etc.

There are ever more frequent cases in different localities of outbursts of hatred against the imperialist war which is smoldering among the masses of the people.

In this article we cannot give even a short description of the tens

and hundreds of actions undertaken by the people, or of the actions of the soldiers and militia against the war, which have taken place of late. We shall mention only the more important ones.

For example, in Milan, after an incident had occurred with the fascist militia who had invited a large group of soldiers to sing fascist songs, the latter began to sing the revolutionary, proletarian song, *Bandiera Rossa* (Red Flag). In Milan, Turin, and many other towns, there have been demonstrations of conscripts. At one of the Milan railway stations, the conscripts beat up the station master, a fascist. In Parma, women and children lay down on the railway track to prevent a train carrying soldiers from leaving the station. In Bergamo a conflict occurred between departing militiamen and fascists; some were wounded and one killed. In Caltanissetta the workers of the sulphur mines called a strike for a few days and organized a stormy demonstration to prevent the departure of conscripts. In Naples there was a fight between soldiers and gendarmes, as a result of which four gendarmes were killed. In one of the barracks the soldiers beat up a captain for his abusive conduct. One captain who killed a soldier with the butt of a rifle was thrown over a precipice a few days later. At the front, soldiers refused to get into tanks and ten of them were shot. In Florence, Ascoli Piceno and other localities, the soldiers protested against their terrible conditions. In Milan, students of the Lyceum demonstrated against compulsory military training in schools. In Massaua (Africa), workers demonstrated in the square against the Italian authorities on account of the terrible conditions and demanded to be dispatched back to Italy. Not a day passes but in one place or another demonstrations and protests take place against war; there are frequent cases of desertion among the Italian soldiers.

The Secretary of State for Propaganda called a special meeting of foreign press representatives for the purpose of refuting the information which had filtered through to the outside world about the discontent in Italy. Nevertheless, the correspondent of the *Petit Parisien* who published this refutation pointed out also that in Genoa, Spezzia and other towns, demonstrations took place which were immediately suppressed.

Even the most primitive forms of protest against war cause the dictatorship serious disquiet. It is enough to point out that one trader was arrested for the sole reason that he hung a notice on the door of his shop: "Closed on the occasion of the death of my son in Africa".

The military and civil authorities seriously warn soldiers and workers returning from Africa on sick leave on no account to speak about the living conditions of the workers and soldiers in Africa. Every sick man returning from Africa is a source of protest against the war, even if he does not indulge in any agitation. Fascism is so much afraid of the "infection" spread by those returning from Africa that the sick are sent for a time to Rodos Island, and not to Italy.

* * *

The Italian Communist Party has done much, and is still doing much, to carry on anti-war agitation among the masses. The local organ-

izations have improved their work. Besides distributing the central Party press, the organizations of the Communist Party themselves in some localities, on their own initiative, reprint and distribute leaflets and poems against the war; petitions of protest against the high cost of living and the war are drawn up in factories and workshops and also in workers' homes. They are signed by tens and hundreds of workers, women, Socialists, Catholics, and fascists. The petitions are sent to the *podesta*, to the prefect, and to Mussolini himself.

Several demonstrations demanding increased wages have taken place recently in factories in big industrial centers. The workers have successfully defended their demands by making use of the representatives of the fascist trade unions and through trade union meetings.

For example, 70 per cent of the workers of one big factory took part in a trade union meeting; a commission was elected there which obtained the following increase in the hourly wages: repairers from 1.72 lire to 1.80; solderers from 1.72 to 1.80 and from 1.80 to 1.90; apprentices from 1.16 to 1.20 and 1.50. Overtime wages were increased by 25 per cent and piecework rates by 10 per cent.

Forty-three workers were fined in one undertaking in the course of one day, and in reply, 500 workers collected at the gates and forced the management to rescind the fine and change the watchmen.

In another factory, after several protests had been made to the Board of Management and to the trade union, the young workers obtained an increase in wages.

In yet another factory the workers called a strike twice and then went to the trade union; as a result they obtained an increase in wages of six lire a day. At a big metal works an increase in wages of from 18 to 25 centesimes per hour was obtained for the skilled workers. In many other factories wage increases have been obtained for groups of skilled workers. In some places it has been possible to get some results in the "Dopo Lavoro", in the war invalids' organizations, in Catholic organizations, and in anti-war work among the troops.

The war which has only just begun is increasing the discontent of the masses. The increase in the cost of living, the suffering, poverty, sickness and death, are causing discontent in the ranks of the fascists themselves, and calling forth spontaneous indignation against the war.

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We should mention a few serious shortcomings in the mass movement against the war and in the work of the Communist Party.

The protests against war are still mainly of a spontaneous character; they are few in number and only limited numbers of soldiers and of the civil population take part in them. The petition movement covers a narrow circle of people; the demands set forth in the petitions are not supported by workers' commissions and the masses when they come before the authorities to whom they are addressed (*podesta*, prefect, etc.). Only limited numbers of workers take part in the actions inside the factories for the observance of agreements and for increased wages, and the wage increases obtained almost always affect only the most skilled section of the workers; only in rare cases are there increases in

the wages of the lower-paid categories of workers, such as unskilled workers, women and the youth. These actions are not linked together, and are of a purely economic character.

The chief reason for this, besides increased fascist reaction (the introduction of severe discipline in the factories, constant arrest of anti-fascists, and attempts to revive the famous fascist storm detachments) is that our Party work is weak. The work of the Party still bears the strong impress of the sectarian position which was for several years adopted by the Party in its mass work, especially in connection with using legal opportunities of work inside the fascist trade unions and other mass organizations. Although the Party work has on the whole improved, it is still far from satisfactory both in quality and quantity.

The pact for unity of action concluded a year ago between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party has provided the members of the Communist Party with the opportunity of establishing living contacts, true, with a still limited number of Socialist workers. True, in the factories and in the fascist trade unions our comrades are, in many cases, working side by side with the Socialist workers, but sectarianism and insufficient work in the "Dopo Lavoro" organizations, the cooperative societies, and other organizations are responsible for the fact that the united front has not yet become the vital force capable of drawing the toilers who are still backward in the political sense into the struggle and setting them in motion. We must also mention the fact that although the Socialist Party did sign the united front pact, it has done very little to put it into actual practice.

We have succeeded in obtaining big results in setting up an anti-war united front among the emigrants, both with Socialists and with other anti-fascist currents. Together with the Socialist Party, the Communist Party took the initiative in organizing a congress of Italian emigrants on October 12-13 in Brussels. All Italian organizations and anti-fascist currents took part in this Congress (with the exception of "Justiccio" and "Liberti"), as well as numerous literary organizations and men of letters.

An organizational committee was formed at the congress which was entrusted with the task of doing everything necessary to increase and develop the struggle in Italy against the war.

The anti-war movement against fascism and Mussolini which is developing in different countries is of tremendous importance. Our Party must use all its political authority to direct all forces capable of facilitating the revival of the mass struggle towards concrete work inside Italy.

The slogan: "Peace with Ethiopia!" "Down with Mussolini!" will become popular among the broad masses in Italy and also among the masses who support the fascists, if the Communists by a correct policy and untiring efforts among the population and the army, in the fascist trade unions and in all mass organizations, succeed in standing at the head of all the discontented, of all the friends of peace.

IN FRANCE

By K. S.

THE struggle between the two camps, the camp of war and that of peace, the struggle between those supporting Italy's robber plans and those opposed to Italy's war of aggression in Ethiopia, has become extremely acute in France. The struggle has been directed not only against Italian fascism, but also against the war instigators in France itself, *i.e.*, against the French fascists. The increase in the activity of the fascist bands has of late once more shown that the fascist danger is still far from overcome, and has extremely sharpened the struggle between the forces of peace and liberty and the forces of war and slavery.

The Communist Party and the People's Front, in their struggle for peace, have to fight not only against the fascist leagues which have insolently put forward the slogan: "Long live Mussolini!" They have also to fight against the enormous force represented by the "Comite des Forges" which is seeking a way out of the crisis in this war, which is the more profitable for them as it is being waged by another country.*

They have to fight against the section of the bourgeoisie which is using all its efforts to paralyze action by the League of Nations, and which is organizing pro-Italian demonstrations of fascists and an Anglophobe campaign in the French newspapers. Finally, inside the People's Front itself they have to fight against the renegade Doriot whose political compass on all questions is his hatred towards the Soviet Union and Communism.**

Having advanced the slogan: "Sanctions mean war", the fascist organizations and fascist press are trying to arouse the population against the application of the pact of the League of Nations. The fascists are very skilfully camouflaging the nature of their activities, and attempt to hide behind the slogan of peace. They are depicting the war of Italian fascism in Africa as simply a colonial expedition which must be merely winked at, and which can have no consequences for the world situation.***

And in their thirst for "neutrality" these freshly baked "pacifists"

* In the radio-chronicle of the "Society of Economic Study and information" (*i.e.*, of the same "Comite des Forges"), transmitted by wireless on October 17 from the Eiffel Tower, it was pointed out that the war operations of Italy in Africa can provide an excellent market for French industry. On the other hand, we read in the supplement to the newspaper *l'Usine* (the organ of industry and metallurgy) of October 19: "We are still hoping that, thanks to the acumen and wisdom of our government, international agreements against war will be observed, and at the same time France will maintain friendly relations with different countries interested in the given problem [*i.e.*, will prevent the application of economic and financial sanctions against Italy—K. S.]. If, as can still be hoped, we achieve this end, there is no doubt that the result will be an unexpected business boom which, perhaps, will be astounding in its dimensions and rate of development."

** The French fascists say: "Moscow wants war". Doriot writes: "The present policy of the Soviet Union is a policy of war". The French fascists justify Italian aggression by stating that Italy also has a right to colonial expansion. M. Doriot gets up at a meeting and says that he considers "the demand of a big and thickly-populated country which is unable to feed her land" is quite legitimate. *Emancipation*, October 26, 1935.

*** The "Patriotic Youth" organization, for example, distributed the following leaflet: "Some say that Mussolini is right. Others assert that Mussolini is to blame. What business is it of ours? But sanctions mean war. And the French youth want peace!"

so far as to provoke world war by proposing that England and Italy settle their accounts between themselves.*

But by trying to camouflage their real plans, the French followers of Mussolini and Hitler are doing their utmost to wipe off the disgraceful brand "Fascism is war", which the masses have laid upon them, and are making furious attacks upon the Communist Party and the People's Front, accusing them of stirring up war by their demand that economic and financial sanctions be adopted against the aggressor.

The most reactionary section of the French bourgeoisie are obviously reckoning upon the establishment of fascism in France. This is why, without mentioning their international policy, which amounts to an attempt to remove the menace from the direction of Hitler Germany by agreement with the latter, and by violating the mutual assistance pact between France and the U.S.S.R., the reactionary bourgeoisie itself could consider the fall of fascism in Italy a blow. This fear was clearly expressed in the *Echo de Paris*. Italian fascism, writes Henri de Kerinis, plays the role of antitoxin in Europe, as a barrier against rising Communism. "The overthrow of fascism," he continues, "would, from now onwards, be of advantage only to Italian Communism." And the fascists want to prevent this at all costs, even at the price of civil war. The "Republicans" of the *Echo de Paris* and the monarchists of the *Action Française* threaten in chorus that: "The adoption of sanctions against Italy would mean civil war in Paris and throughout France".

Italian fascism can be satisfied with the activities launched by its French agents. The Turin *Stampa* writes, in its issue of October 26:

"So long as there are 300,000 'Fiery Crosses' ready for action in France and several thousand members of the 'French Solidarity' Movement as well, the ominous plans of the radical Free Masons in relation to Italy cannot be realized."

In the face of the war frenzy of the reactionary and fascist bourgeoisie, the Communist Party has launched an ideological struggle to win the masses of the people who is hostile to the real interests of the country and who is defending them. The Communists declare that the question facing the French toilers is not that of defending British imperialism, whose sudden solicitude for the "independence" of Ethiopia is only a veil for the imperialist policy it is steadily pursuing, neither is it a question of fighting against the Italian people who are suffering from the fascist dictatorship and are trying to get rid of it. It is a question of maintaining peace and of defending the independence of the Ethiopian people. By starting its war of aggression in Africa, Italian fascism menaces the whole world. For in the present tense situation, the smallest spark may cause an explosion, and convert both hemispheres into a gigantic field of fratricidal war. Consequently, the interests of maintaining peace demand the immediate cessation of war in Ethiopia. By what means? First and foremost, by unity of action on the part of the masses themselves, on a national and international scale,

* In this deep strife between two great peoples, it is our duty to say to them: 'Fight, but we cannot participate in your struggle.' (Declaration of the fascist *Darquier de Pelpois*, meeting in the "Wagram" hall in Paris on October 5. *Ami du Peuple*, October 6, 1935.)

with a view to surrounding the fascist aggressor in an iron ring of proletarian struggles. In the interests of maintaining peace, the Communists are prepared to utilize all means. This is why they support the economic and financial sanctions adopted by the League of Nations, and demand that they be applied.

By fighting against the application of economic and financial sanctions against Italy, the French fascists are lining up with the rapacious plans of Mussolini. It is not the interests of the French people that they have at heart when they advocate France's "neutrality" and declare that "sanctions mean war". They are not thinking of peace when they want to free the hands of Italian fascism, for peace is indivisible and the slightest crack in it may pave the way to the beginning of a world war.

The French fascists assert that they love their fatherland, yet they are working on behalf of Mussolini and in the long run on behalf of Hitler. By fostering the development of Italian fascist aggression, they are urging France on to the road to agreement with Hitler so as to make it possible for him to attack the U.S.S.R., after which Hitler, as he himself has declared in his book *My Struggle*, would, if he could, attack France. On the other hand, the Communists, by fighting against the instigators of war in France, by helping the Italian people to get rid of the fascist dictatorship, by supporting the policy of the U.S.S.R.—the main force engaged in the struggle for peace in an environment which is armed to the teeth—are really defending the interests of the French people and at the same time the interests of the entire international proletariat.

Such are the arguments put forward by the Communist Party as against the war agitation of the fascists. The Communist Party has organized numerous meetings throughout the country which have gained the interest of considerable masses of the people and have resulted in a rise of the sentiments of the masses against the war instigators. The struggle for unity of action among the peasantry has also attracted the bourgeois peasant organizations into the anti-war struggle. The Party press is conducting an energetic campaign to mobilize the masses; in particular *l'Humanité* is playing the chief role in unmasking the benevolent policy towards Mussolini which Laval wants to force upon the French government.

The Party and the revolutionary trade union organizations have shown to the toilers the means they should use to fight for the application of proletarian sanctions. Thus, the Communist Party has called upon the workers' organizations and all the workers employed on the railroads, at the ports and in munitions works to establish "vigilance committees" to expose the dispatch of war materials destined for Italy and to mobilize the masses to prevent all loading and dispatch of ammunition or any other cargoes to Italy. We have to admit, however, that these correct instructions are still not put into practice sufficiently. The Party has not yet been able to secure the general application of proletarian sanctions against Italian fascism on a broad scale. True, on September 4, the Marseilles dockers were able for a time to stop the

loading of Italian steamers. On October 25, the dockers in Port St. Louis held up the loading of hay on an Italian ship for two hours, and arranged an anti-war demonstration in the town. At the *Gnome et Rhone* works in Paris, where motors for Italian airplanes are produced, petitions were circulated round the works protesting against fascist aggression in Ethiopia, and about 800 signatures were obtained. Other such acts could be quoted, but they are all only isolated unconnected actions.

The Communist Party has stubbornly striven to increase unity of action so as to organize the struggle against war. It is a pity that these efforts met with no response among the leaders of the Socialist Party. At the end of August, just before the Italo-Ethiopian war began, when it was necessary to organize a powerful united movement against the war, the leaders of the Socialist Party turned their backs upon the proposals of the Communist Party. At that moment, instead of concentrating their efforts upon organizing a joint struggle of the masses, *le populaire*, the organ of the Socialist Party, laid all its hopes upon a diplomatic regulation of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. The fact that the leaders of the Socialist Party were not sufficiently prepared to organize a joint struggle only damped the enthusiasm of the masses at a moment when action on their part might still have prevented the aggression. True, the Communist Party was able later to get the leaders of the Socialist Party to make a joint appeal to the masses. But not everything necessary was done to get the decision, which had been passed jointly, put into practice. The Socialist leaders took no steps to call upon their organizations to consolidate militant contacts with the Communist organizations. They did not support the proposals for joint struggle made by the Communist International at the right time. The Socialist workers had a better understanding of the serious position which had arisen and the need for international unity of action. It is enough to point to the numerous resolutions passed by local conciliation committees, demanding the immediate realization on an international scale of the united front against the war.

We all know, however, that these measures alone will not prevent war conflagration. The preservation of peace is in the hands of the masses themselves, and it will triumph only as a result of energetic action on the part of the broad masses against the instigators of war.

It is also quite clear that the united actions of the masses can only be endowed with a more militant character by consolidating the united front between the Socialists and Communists. And here, in turn, the resistance to, and sabotage of, decisions passed jointly can only be overcome by increasing the activity of the Communist organizations. And it is in this direction that all the efforts of our comrades must be immediately concentrated.

Militant unity of action at the present moment is the only means of strangling all the forces which are unloosing the hounds of war, and maintaining peace.

Therefore, we must state quite clearly to all friends of peace that that which we are passing through today cannot be solved over by wavering or by postponement. Every minute lost is made use

of by the instigators of war. Today there is still time to act, but tomorrow may be too late. The cause of peace demands the urgent mobilization of the broad masses of the people. He who postpones this mobilization today will bear a heavy responsibility before history.

IN GREAT BRITAIN

By PETER KERRIGAN

THE Communist International Manifesto of October 7 declares:

"British imperialism, under cover of suspicious concern about the 'independence' of Ethiopia, is preparing for war with Italy for the possession of Ethiopia. The British navy is prepared for action."

This policy of British imperialism in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict is mainly determined by the following:

First, the successful conquest of Ethiopia by Italy would immensely improve the strategic position of Italian imperialism and would directly menace Britain's control of the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, the Red Sea route to India, the East, and Australia. Second, it would directly threaten Britain's position in the Sudan and Egypt by putting the control of Lake Tsana, the source of the Blue Nile, in the Italian hands, leaving the cotton crop in Egypt and Sudan at the mercy of those who control this source of irrigation. There is an even wider danger for British imperialism here of the possible seizure of Egypt and the Sudan by Italy. This is made clear in an article in the *Daily Telegraph*, semi-official organ of the British Foreign Office, on July 25, 1935, which states:

"If the Duce (Mussolini) grasps Ethiopia and amalgamates Eritrea and Italian Somaliland he would attempt to realize his vision of re-establishing the Roman African Empire by joining Ethiopia and Libya via the Sudan and Egypt. Those who hold this view are sure that Britain will use every resource to thwart such a scheme and that America will help behind the scenes."

Third, the effect of Ethiopia's national war of liberation not only on the African people but on all colonial peoples throughout the world is bound to influence the situation in Britain's colonies, especially in her extensive African colonies. That Britain is aware of this and concerned about it is shown in the article of the *Daily Telegraph* for October 7, which says, after reporting on the precautions being taken by Britain in Egypt:

"Egyptians are becoming impatient with the humiliating position to which the present relations between Egypt and Britain condemn them, particularly at a time like the present."

We should also note the stormy strike movement in the Kenya colony, and the stormy demonstrations in support of Ethiopia in the West Indies.

At the same time the National government utilized the situation in order to drastically increase the British armed forces, and staged a lightning election campaign with its foreign policy and rearmament as its main program, astutely utilizing the chauvinism which it has created and the confusion of the Labor Party in order to win another long term office and rapidly complete its war preparations.

No one better realizes than the British imperialists, who have assisted in the rearming of Hitler, what possibilities are opened up by war in Africa before the German war machine in taking the first steps in its long-planned war on the Soviet Union by seizing Memel and driving forward for the acquisition of Austria. British imperialism fears that German expansion should be directed towards the East rather than by the occupation of Austria, and fears the *weakening of Italy in Europe because of this*.

As a result of the conflict of imperialist interests in which the main responsibility lies at the door of British imperialism, the League of Nations has been unable to prevent the outbreak of war by effective collective action.

With these facts in mind let us consider the policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain in its struggle for peace, for the defense of Ethiopia, and against the imperialist National government. The Communist peace policy right up to the beginning of Italy's war attack on Ethiopia was embodied in the eleven points dealt with in Comrade K. P. S. Witt's article in last month's issue of *The Communist International*, and its whole campaign was directed towards developing the utmost working class action for these points. Alongside these concrete demands the Party endeavored to mobilize such a movement as would force the National government (1) to renounce the Anglo-German naval agreement; (2) to abandon all forms of support to Hitler; (3) to give full support to the Franco-Soviet peace pact; (4) to sign a peace pact with the Soviet Union; (5) to renounce its own imperialist conquests, concessions and mandates. In carrying through this policy the Party has continued to consistently struggle against the line of the trade union and Labor Party leadership, which has been one of "unflinching support" to the foreign policy of the National government.

The manifesto of both the Labor Party Congress and the Trade Union Congress, without in any way criticizing the policy and motives of the government, declares that "Congress pledges its full support of the government consistent with the principles and statutes of the League to maintain the Italian government". In addition to the support to the British government's line the manifesto proposed the international expropriation of the backward regions. Furthermore, the Labor leaders' support for British imperialism was shown by statements in the *Daily Worker* reassuring Continental Socialists that Britain had no imperialist interests in Ethiopia!

The Communist Party of Great Britain laid special stress on showing that effective mass action of the workers is the main and best way of assisting the Ethiopian people, and only through this mass pressure on the National government have been forced into supporting the

Soviet Union's fight at the League of Nations for peace, and ensured the operation of collective sanctions; that this was the only way of ensuring peace especially if it was accompanied by the most bitter fight against the National government, exposing its war aims and making clear its responsibility for the present situation. It is necessary to use all efforts to unify the workers' forces to achieve the maximum independent actions of the trade unions and working class organizations for stopping of supplies for Italy. A fine example of the state of feeling among the workers on this point is the *decision of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union to instruct all its workers to refuse to work on any orders for boots for the Italian army*. This decision has been circulated to all its branches and to all the employers in the industry. The Party specially featured this in its press and campaigns, raising the question of similar action by the workers in the transport and other war industries. The reports of the *refusal of London dockers to load the Italian steamer Boccaccio and the protest demonstrations of Manchester and Cardiff dockers against the loading of Italian ships, together with the appeal of the London Trades Council to the Trade Union Congress to take action to prevent the transport of war material to Italy* show the extent to which feeling among the British workers is rapidly developing. These actions have been accompanied by demonstrations many thousands strong in London, South Wales, and many other important centers, and by the organization of extremely broad peace councils elected at conferences representing Labor Parties, Communist Parties, peace societies, trade union branches, churches, youth organizations, etc. An important incident in the campaign was the London demonstration of friendship and solidarity to the Ethiopian people, which went to the Ethiopian Embassy. The Ethiopian Minister, on behalf of his government, received a deputation organized by the London Communist Party and thanked the British workers for their warm support. The Party published an Ethiopian special edition of the *Daily Worker* which sold upwards of 100,000 copies, while a pamphlet explaining the Ethiopian situation issued by the League Against Imperialism reached the extraordinarily high circulation of 70,000 copies, with eight reprints.

The Party also kept in the forefront of its fight the need to defend the economic interests of the workers and in this connection made a big effort through the trade unions and through the raising of money to assist the workers in the Blackburn aircraft factory who were on strike against the worsening of their conditions, and to rally the utmost aid and assistance to the British miners in their struggle against company unionism in South Wales and for a national increase in wages.

However, there have been weaknesses in carrying out the line. In the early stages of our campaign there was weakness in showing that the policy of the Labor Party and trade union leaders was one which *strengthened the National government by its emphasis on support for the government and absence of any exposure of the government's motives*. At times we tended to place the question of sanctions in too formal a way and not to show it as dependent on the whole of our line being applied, especially the line of independent action by the workers

against the war. In our criticism of the line of the Independent Labor Party and their attack on our policy we tended too much to remain on the defensive, instead of showing how their policy indirectly meant support of fascism and was terribly dangerous to the British workers, rendering the maximum unity in action. The Communist Party also, it seems, has not been able to maintain the high level of struggle against the fascist attack by organizing additional mass actions against goods from Italy on the basis of the widest united front apart from those mentioned above.

We have now reached the period in which the fascist offensive has taken place in Ethiopia and the war is on. The Communist Party of Great Britain must continue and intensify its fight for peace. It must be ready to adapt its line for any sharp changes in the situation, fighting the attempts being made to come to a thieves' bargain with Italy at the expense of the Ethiopian people.

In Britain we struggle to carry into life the call for "the establishment of unity of action by all workers' organizations and all friends of peace in all countries so as to isolate and curb the fascist instigators of war." At the general election in November, at which the National Government made its foreign policy and rearmament one of the main issues, the Communist Party of Great Britain fought to mobilize the workers to defeat the warmongering National government at the election and replace it with a Labor government pledged to fight in defense of peace and to defend the conditions of the workers. Together with this, and especially inside the trade unions, we must continue to exert every effort to build up unity of action, to multiply the actions of the London, Cardiff and Manchester dockers, and shoulder to shoulder with all toilers, with all who are for peace, develop such a mighty, stormy movement as will ensure not a single train, not a single ship in support of the Italian war in Ethiopia. Every conceivable effort will be made by the Party to develop this movement to such a stage as will sweep away the hated National government, and in the words of Comrade Pollitt, *"secure the return of a Labor government on the basis of the united struggle for the preservation of peace, the defense of democracy, and the improvement in the conditions of the workers"*. In this way a most tremendous change can be made in the direction of greatly strengthening the forces making for peace in Europe and the whole world.

IN THE UNITED STATES

By R.

In the United States the large Negro population of over twelve million and a large Italian emigration of over three and a half million are factors making the campaign in the support of Ethiopian independence especially stirring. The campaign of solidarity with Ethiopia, beginning to defend its independence, took on extensive proportions and excited great national interest.

Many newspapers, not only the *Daily Worker* (central organ of the

Communist Party) but even well-known bourgeois papers, took a clear-cut position, although not all to an equal degree, "We stand with Ethiopia!"

The position of the United States government as expressed in its "neutrality" stand decided to place an embargo on all actual war supplies to both Italy and Ethiopia. Our Party has carried on a strong agitational campaign against this position, pointing out that such "neutrality" can only help Italian fascism. Instead, we raised the slogan, "Stop shipments of munitions and all war supplies to Italy", and "Give all aid to Ethiopia". The United States government has even prevented its citizens from sending to Ethiopia war supplies for which private citizens were willing to pay by popular subscription. The Party slogans are very popular and many trade unions have responded to them. The Seattle Central Trades Council passed a motion supporting the stand of the marine unions not to load any ships with goods for Italy. The National Convention of the American Federation of Labor has taken a position against the Italian aggression, declaring it "outlaw".

At this writing the Socialist Party has not officially acted on the proposals of the Central Committee of the Communist Party for a united front in defense of Ethiopian independence. However, in many localities the Socialist Party has joined such united front actions.

The Communist Party has raised the following slogans: "For unity of world labor and all opponents of war!" "For the defense of peace!" "For the defense of Ethiopia!" "For the stopping of all arms shipments to fascist Italy!" "For the barring of loans and credits to fascist Italy!" "For united action of all nations to prevent war on Ethiopia!" "For direct support to Ethiopia and to the anti-fascist masses of Italy!" "For support to the peace policy of the Soviet Union!" "Socialists, Communists, trade unionists, all opponents of war, unite for peace and against fascism!"

FORMS OF ACTIVITY

On July 3, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States issued an appeal to join in a united front demonstration on August 3 in Harlem and in defense of Ethiopia. Speakers were sent to all kinds of organizations. One hundred thousand Negro and white people marched in this demonstration in the heart of New York's Negro population in Harlem. On the same day, demonstrations also took place in the following cities: Baltimore, Cincinnati, New Brunswick, Buffalo, St. Louis, Passaic, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, San Francisco and other cities.

On August 31, ten thousand Negro and white workers joined in a united front demonstration in Chicago. Two thousand police broke up the meeting and slugged the workers. McKenna and Haywood, the leading Communist organizers, were badly beaten and arrested.

On September 11, on behalf of all Communists and sympathizers, the *Daily Worker* took a position for immediate practical aid to Ethiopia by issuing an appeal supporting the American Medical Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia. That same week, there was instituted day

and night picketing of Italian consulates by the American League against War and Fascism sections in a number of cities. In some cities the police did not permit such picketing.

In Detroit a mass picket line picketed for one hour in front of the Italian consulate, after which it was broken up by the police. The picket line was organized by a united front Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopian Independence.

Some of these forms of activity, such as the measures for practical aid, were not planned out and proposed by our Party, but were initiated by various groups. The Negro organizations, especially, reacted to the attack against Ethiopia. Even the Negro churches began to swing into the movement and join "Hands Off Ethiopia Committees". On September 1, a united front conference at the Shiloh Baptist Church, under the auspices of the Philadelphia Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia, set in motion the machinery for establishment of "Hands Off Ethiopia Committees". The following week, the New York Committees for Ethiopian Independence held a united front indoor meeting at Madison Square Garden, with twelve thousand present. The Negro bourgeois reactionaries did everything they could to confuse the issue, first, making it a race question, Negro versus Italian, by closing Italian shops with flying squads, etc. (In New York and New Jersey there were small riots between Italian and Negro people.) And, second, by slandering the U.S.S.R. to be a supporter of Italy. Thus, in June, a Negro renegade from the Communist Party by the name of Mackawain tried to discredit the Communist Party with the Negro population in Harlem by misrepresenting and misinterpreting the actions of the Soviet Union at Geneva playing Britain and France's game of imperialist maneuvering. All the actions of the Communist Party gave the lie to these accusations and largely made them futile, but especially useful was the September 30 feature in the central organ of the Communist Party, the *Daily Worker*, an interview at Geneva between Teclé Hawariate, ambassador of Ethiopia, and James Ford of the Communist Party, in which Hawariate laid the stand taken by the Soviet Union.

The support to our Party position on this question was well illustrated when on October 10 a huge Madison Square Garden meeting, with eighteen to twenty thousand people present, heard Comrade Brown's report on the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern and also report on the Ethiopian situation, and amidst a great demonstration pledged support for the defense of Ethiopian independence.

During October, the character, growth and problems of the movement can be best shown by these outstanding examples:

October 5: Huge united front demonstration in Harlem, New York, Negro and white workers against Mussolini. City places 1,250 extra police at corners and on rooftops "to keep demonstration in check".

October 8: The Central Committee of the Communist Party calls for support of the collection of twelve million signatures in the United States for a people's mandate against war. The campaign is being conducted under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

October 9: Ten thousand workers demonstrate under Communist Party leadership in front of the Italian Consulate in Philadelphia. Harry Wicks, Communist candidate for mayor, speaks from second-story window of hotel opposite Consulate and scatters thousands of leaflets. Police broke down door, slugged Wicks, and arrested many.

October 11: One thousand at Chicago mass conference held in the Community Memorial Church under the auspices of the Joint Conference for Defense of Ethiopia plan to aid Ethiopian defense. Decide to raise a "John Robinson Defense Fund to Aid Ethiopia". (John Robinson is a Chicago Negro flier who is now in the service of Ethiopian troops.)

October 12: At the Columbus Day celebration at Columbus Circle, New York, which the fascists tried to turn into a pro-Italian demonstration, a tremendous opposition struggle developed among the audience, and Governor Lehman of the State of New York and Mayor LaGuardia of the City of New York had to retire from the main platform to a nearby park to speak, while anti-fascist demonstrators won the support of most of the audience.

October 26: Seventy-five thousand people participated in a united front march and open air demonstration in New York led by many American Federation of Labor progressive leaders including Gorman of the textile workers' union, Negro reformist leaders and leaders of the Communist Party.

The above are only some of the main examples of our activity. In addition, thousands of meetings have already been held on the streets in neighborhoods all over the country. Hundreds of workers have been arrested in demonstrations, picket lines, etc., and have turned the court trials into tribunals against Italian fascism and imperialist war.

The campaign for the defense of Ethiopia and to popularize the revolutionary and pro-people's position of the Soviet Union is now assuming broad proportions.

If there is anywhere a weakness in the activity it can be said to be in the comparatively weak work among the Italian population. Especially strong is the agitation of the pro-fascist groups that the Italian people have no other way out of the crisis, but through war. Especially weak is our concrete answer to these arguments. Of course, we can answer in a general way, "the Communist way out", but there is a concrete, practical and understandable program necessary that every Italian worker in the United States can grasp.

In this connection, the *Daily Worker* published a full page statement of the Communist Party of Italy, explaining its position on Ethiopia, although the statement had a significance not only among the Italian masses.

It must also be noted that the demagogy of the "civilizing influence" of Italy has been received with great scorn in the United States by all classes of the population, and that this made the development of the movement for the defense of Ethiopian independence easier. Italian aggression can be said to have no support anywhere among the masses. Even the reactionary press, which looks with favor on the adventure, present

to their readers in the cautious style of simply printing Mussolini's statement.

All these things give our Party the opportunity of widening the anti-war movement to newer and hitherto unmoved sections of the population and to raise the anti-war movement to a much higher level.

IN CANADA

By J. PORTER

THE Canadian Communist Party, at first, failed to draw the proper conclusions from the Italo-Ethiopian war as being one of imperial-conquest on the part of Italian fascism and a war for independence the part of the Ethiopian people, and did not therefore organize the masses for mass pressure to force the Canadian government, a member of the League of Nations, to disassociate itself from the hypocrisy of Britain and to support to the full the policy of the U.S.S.R. The Party advanced was "Keep Canada Out of War". But this position of the Party was quickly corrected.

The policy of the Party in the present war situation is to arouse a mighty people's anti-war movement, headed by a united front of the Communist, Socialist, and trade union movements.

The events in Ethiopia have alarmed the Canadian common people. The Communist Party, in the course of a stirring general election campaign, warned them that Mussolini's attack upon Ethiopia is the prelude to a world war. The Party was able to assist and direct the work of the League Against War and Fascism, embracing over 300,000 people, with the result that the League has expanded, carried out a whole number of emergency conferences in the main cities, arranged numerous demonstrations, parades, and sent delegations to Italian consulates, under the slogan: "Hands Off Ethiopia!" While the top leaders of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (the Farmer-Labor Party) and the trade unions persist in their refusal actively to participate in the League Against War and Fascism, increasing numbers of local, district, and individual national leaders have actively engaged in the actions organized by the League.

Because of the increasingly strong peace sentiments within the trade unions, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which is the central body of the American Federation of Labor unions in the country, at its Halifax convention adopted a strongly worded resolution condemning Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia, and demanding the enforcement of the League Covenant. The Congress indicated that the unions would support aid for Ethiopia, but (and here the top leaders take full responsibility) no practical measures were made for struggle against the war, such as the stoppage of the war shipments of Canadian nickel or the action of railroad and mine workers, etc. Nevertheless, the resolution shows the ferment which is proceeding within the American Federation of Labor unions, and gives a splendid opportunity for appealing the membership for anti-war actions.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation leaders declared for the full application of the League Covenant and that unless the fascist conquest of Ethiopia was prevented, the danger of world war was imminent. These words were not translated into action by Woodsworth, the C.C.F. leader, and his colleagues. Had this been done, the great influence the C.C.F. has among the masses could have been used to bring about a much stronger anti-war movement, and would have also greatly assisted in the defeat of capitalist candidates in the election. The Communist Party made earnest and repeated efforts to forge election unity, raising the issue of government before the masses and in particular before the C.C.F. leaders and membership. Our Party correctly stated that the return of a majority of C.C.F. and Communist candidates pledged to peace and against fascism would be one of the most powerful blows against the war alliance with Great Britain maintained by the dominant sections of the Canadian bourgeoisie.

This did not prevent the active participation of the C.C.F. membership and supporters in the movement for the defense of Ethiopia, and consequently in the defense of world peace.

One striking feature of the peace movement was the manner in which Negro churches and organizations cooperated with the large Italian immigrant groups in Eastern Canada. Joint committees of the Negro and Italian people are carrying through a good campaign, with the active aid of the Communists. A climax of this international fraternizing was when a prominent Negro lawyer defended in court two Italian anti-fascist workers charged with assaulting the police during an anti-fascist action. An outstanding C.C.F. leader gave evidence for the defense in this trial, which resulted in the virtual acquittal of the accused workers.

The Youth Council in Toronto, representing about 160,000 of the young generation, concretely applied its slogan, "Peace, Freedom and Progress" by actively engaging in the fight to defend the Ethiopian people from Italian fascism. The young generation circularized all the candidates for the federal election, demanding their stand on the present war. Large student strikes in Vancouver and Montreal, called as a protest against high school fees, added the slogan in defense of Ethiopia to their demands.

The Communists placed squarely before the people of Canada the issues called forth by the war. They correctly linked up the fight for peace with the struggle for independence of the Ethiopian people, and against Canadian imperialism's war alliance with Britain, with the general elections, which took place on October 14. The positions of Bennett and Mackenzie King, the Conservative and Liberal leaders, which on the face of it were "anti-war", were exposed by the Communists by contrasting the consistent support given to British war policy with the lying election propaganda of their chief bourgeois leaders. In this activity the C.C.F. and the Communist Party were united. In almost fifty constituencies the Communists and the C.C.F. workers succeeded in coming to an agreement to support the Labor candidates on the program which included the fight against war and for peace.

However, it must be admitted that the Communist Party of Canada has not yet succeeded in moving the decisive sections of the workers, the metal miners, transport workers, etc., into concrete anti-war actions, such as the stoppage of nickel shipments on which Italy depends, such as the prevention of the sending of troop ships for Mussolini, the stoppage of war shipments of wheat, etc. Likewise, assistance to the Red Cross services of the Ethiopian people, which was asked for by the defense movement in Canada, has not reached anything like the proportions it should have.

In this connection, it is clear that too little attention was paid to the Western wheat farmers. When the Italian troops commenced their attack on Ethiopia, the price of wheat rose to higher levels than at any time since 1929, owing to the prospective demand for wheat and flour by Italy. The capitalist press hailed this as "evidence of recovery". Hundreds of thousands of export wheat farmers and their families, dependent on the world market for their livelihood, may be caught up into support of war because of the temporary benefit this may bring in the form of higher prices to some farmers. Special attention should be paid by the Communists to these toilers. It must be shown to them that the rich grain merchants and the farmers' creditors benefit most from the rise in prices, and that war does not offer a solution to their difficulties.

In connection with the Italo-Ethiopian war the Communist Party of Canada is now developing activity to bring mass pressure on the policy of the Canadian government to follow a policy of peace desired by the common people of Canada, and is *especially* engaged in developing independent working class action in the struggle for peace, for the defeat of Italian fascism and for Ethiopian independence.

Stakhanovites Laud Comrade Stalin's Speech

Below we publish statements of workers who took part in the All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites (November 14-17, 1935) concerning their impressions in connection with Comrade J. V. Stalin's speech.

The statements of the Stakhanovites were published in the Soviet press on the day following the conclusion of the All-Union Conference and some of them we shall reproduce here.

In these few statements we find expressed the infinite love and devotion of the workers to the Party, to Comrade Stalin, the leader of the people of the U.S.S.R. and of the world proletariat, and their readiness to continue their self-sacrificing struggle for the victory of Communism.

WITH bated breath I caught every word spoken by Comrade Stalin. He spoke about us, about the heroes of socialist labor, about how our Alexei is not a professor, has no education, but nevertheless raised a doubt about the correctness of professorial theories and the conclusions drawn therefrom. Comrade Stalin's speech, so simple and intelligible to all, was amazing.

When I return to the pit I will tell the workers of our shaft that they also must revolt against the existing norms. The right norm for our work is that which corresponds to the instructions given us by our leader, Comrade Stalin.

At the end of his speech, Comrade Stalin thanked us. He thanked us for our work, he thanked us for teaching our leaders. But not only do we deserve thanks and awards; does not Stalin, our great leader, deserve to receive our great proletarian thanks for leading us forward constantly without a single break?

To you, the great Stalin, I want to express our proletarian thanks for educating and training thousands and hundreds of thousands of Stakhanovites—heroes of labor. After the new Stalinist stimulus, their number will multiply from day to day. I, as a true son of the Party, give my word to fulfil all the instructions of Comrade Stalin, and bear with honor the name of Bolshevik organizer of the Stakhanov movement.

MIRON DIUKANOV
*Party Organizer of the First Donbas
Stakhanov Section*

* * *

WHEN Stalin spoke he seemed to be responding to our innermost thoughts. I know now why it has become so easy to work.

I understand quite well all that Stalin told us; I have met it all myself. I have seen how a little impetus, the first Stakhanovite example,

was enough to urge the workers to collect together all their inventions, all their technical knowledge and practical skill, so as to get the very utmost out of the machines.

The workers on my shift have time and opportunity to think about their work. They come to work satisfied, well-shod and clothed, their minds free from material worries, their arms strong because they are well fed. Why should we work badly?

I understand Stalin's words when he says we are now gleaning the fruits of our revolution; I have seen it myself. Wages have been doubled, prices have been reduced, we are paid in weighty, valuable rubles—and we earn a lot of them.

On my own shift I can see every day how there is growing up among the workers a class-conscious attitude to labor. We have begun to keep a book where the repairs required are entered; but the workers have made a bigger thing of it. Every day they enter up proposals for rationalizing the equipment, for changing the technological process.

These proposals are proof of the thoughtfulness, of the profound knowledge of the machine, with which our Stakhanovites take up their work. And from today it is clear to me that this thoughtfulness is of tremendous importance.

I understand what Stalin said about the approaching fusion between mental and physical labor, of the first star of the epoch of Communism; I have seen it myself.

YUSIN

*Foreman of the Smithy of the First
State Ball-Bearing Plant*

* * *

WE ARE ENTERING UPON A NEW LIFE

I LISTENED to Stalin's speech and was deeply moved. He gave such a clear analysis of the Stakhanov movement. We are entering upon a new life.

After the speech of Comrade Stalin, I wanted to take myself in hand ten times more than before, to throw myself still more deeply not only into industry, but into studies, culture, art and literature, to become a person with an all-round education.

On August 5, I was awarded the Order of Lenin for successful efforts to combat accidents. On August 31, we railwaymen paid a visit to Comrade Stalin. And I can see a consistent link between what he said then and what he said today. Now, just as then, one can feel in his words all the tremendous care he has for people, the desire to make life still more beautiful.

I have increased the technical speed of the locomotive from the twenty-seven kilometers scheduled to forty kilometers. My task now is to master the art of driving the engine, to hand on my experience to the comrades, whose patron I am.

I shall devote myself to this unceasingly.

B. IVANOV

*Engine-Driver and Banner-Bearer of the
Moscow-Baltic White Russian Railway*

* * *

COMRADE Stalin began to speak. I was astounded at the precise form and profound meaning of his speech. It was extremely simple, without any of the usual attempts at "oratory". Calmly, clearly, and with extraordinary logic, Comrade Stalin developed his ideas, giving a new appraisal of the Stakhanov movement and the Stakhanovites themselves who are engaged on a task of historic importance.

The audience listened intently. The leader of the people said that the business managers and engineers must learn from the advanced Stakhanovite workers, and he thereupon noted that we had all learned much at the Conference. Stalin then thanked the Stakhanovites.

These few words of thanks, spoken so simply, so characteristic of Comrade Stalin's usual tactful approach to people, his ability to value initiative and labor irrespective of position, deeply affected all present.

In what other country would the leaders of the people say: "*Thank you for the lesson, comrades*", in such a direct, friendly fashion?

"Thank you", spoken thus, penetrates to the innermost places of the heart.

I was abroad a short time ago and was asked by some foreign engineers: "What is the secret of Stalin's strength?"

Comrade Stalin's memorable speech has once more convinced me that the secret of the strength of the leader of our Party, of the leader of the people, lies in the fact that his thoughts and his desires are the same as those of the masses of the people.

E. DERECHY

Chief Engineer of Glavstvetmetal.

* * *

IT was made known to us over night that Stalin would speak the next day. I decided that I must sit near the front, at all costs, for I was to hear my leader for the first time.

Early the next morning I waited outside the Kremlin. At last we were allowed in. I ran into the hall and found a place in the seventh row. This was no small achievement, for there were hundreds who wanted to get the best seats.

In Comrade Stalin's speech I heard everything that had been occupying my own thoughts. I once more became convinced that our leaders are well aware of the thoughts and moods of the rank and file proletarians, so indissolubly close are they to the working class. This astounded me.

As soon as the ovation came to an end after Comrade Stalin's speech, and the Stakhanovites, having sung the *International* with tremendous enthusiasm, began to leave, Comrade Zhdanov suddenly began to sing the march from *Happy Fellows*. Voroshilov joined in, and Stalin clapped his hands. Then we all took up the strain at the top of our voices. . . . Yes, that is the sort of leaders we have? Our own kith and kin!

An irresistible force drew me to them. I followed them out of the hall, walking all the way by the side of Stalin, Voroshilov and Sergo.* I measured my step with theirs and thought: *to march in step with*

* Sergo Orjinnikidze, Commissar of Heavy Industry.

...to the end of my days! I felt again: for me, a proletarian, there can be no other road than that along which my leaders are moving.

I am a foreman of a section, a junior commander of industry, and now understand how necessary it is to launch the Stakhanovite movement and organize it to the utmost. Now, with the all-inclusive guidance even in the speeches of Comrade Stalin and Comrade Orjnikov, I will lead my section forward so well, all you comrades and foremen want to compete with me, that you will have to look out for yourselves!

RICHARD BORN

*Foreman of the Komsomol Section of the
Kirov Works, Turbine Department*

* * *

EVERYBODY MUST BE TOLD ABOUT COMRADE STALIN'S SPEECH

During those days, we, each of us, saw that the government, the leaders of the Party, and Comrade Stalin listened to what we had to say carefully and with feeling, and noted how they rejoice at our successes.

Everybody must be told about the Conference. My daughter, Dusia, asked me to go to her school—School No. 23 of the Stalin District—to tell the children about the Stakhanovites and Comrade Stalin's speech. She made me promise not to go anywhere else before visiting that school—the children were so keen.

I want to say something else about the young people. As a mother rejoiced for all the other mothers, whose children had spoken at the Conference. Take for example our seventeen-year-old Kolia Kuryanov. What a happy mother to have such a son! And on the other hand, at another time could a seventeen-year-old lad be earning 25-30 rubles a day?

As a Stakhanovite, I have taken on eight looms instead of six. Not later than December 1, I shall be working on ten looms.

M. LYSKOVA

*Weaver at the Frunze Factory, Member of the
All-Union Central Executive Committee*

“The Preface to Peace”

Reviewed by M. TAMAR

IN connection with the feverish preparations for imperialist war for a new division of the globe, the actual beginning of this war in the Far East and Africa, the increasing and open military preparations on the part of German fascism, a differentiation and regroupings are taking place among the pacifists and the masses who are pacifist in sentiment.

A conference recently took place in Paris in defense of the Ethiopian people, which brought together representatives of over 120 anti-war and anti-fascist organizations of different countries under the slogan of a struggle for peace. Side by side with the most prominent leaders of the Italian anti-fascist movement and representatives of organizations fighting for the people's front in France, the well-known English pacifist writer, Norman Angell, also took part.

Norman Angell, who is one of those who sway the minds of the masses of England with pacifist inclinations, has up to now stood aloof from mass anti-war action. That he has now joined the militant anti-war front is witness not only of changes that have taken place in his own outlook, but also of the profound changes that have taken place in the minds of the masses of pacifists whose moods he expresses. The following question naturally arises: what is the ideological standpoint with which Norman Angell has come to the mass anti-war movement? His last book, *Preface to Peace*,* gives the answer to this.

The main dividing lines along which differentiation is taking place today among pacifists are the following questions:

Are they prepared to pass from general propaganda of peace to a concrete struggle against the concrete instigators of war. Are they prepared to support the peace policy of the Soviet Union, to the point of defending the idea of collective security and military measures against the aggressor? Those pacifists who do this today continue to stand for an abstract condemnation of all violence and of all use whatsoever of weapons, even though directed against obvious violators of the peace, are actually helping the fascist war instigators who are also not above camouflaging themselves behind “peace-loving” phraseology to suit the mood of the masses.

In view of the direct danger of war, Norman Angell has begun to understand that the prescriptions for pacifying mankind which he advocated formerly are now not enough. Whereas in his previous books Norman Angell considered the “democratization” of the League of Nations, the mitigation of the conditions of the Versailles Treaty which were so onerous for Germany, and the planned organization of economic collaboration between the peoples to be the most hopeful weapons against war, we find that in his new book he is a convinced, passionate supporter of the system of collective security which includes military measures against violators of the peace.

* Norman Angell, *Preface to Peace—A Guide for the Plain Man*, London, 1935.

"Collective defense means any method by which the general or collective power of civilized nations—power which may be diplomatic, political, economic, financial, as well as military or naval—shall stand for the defense of each member of the community of states by resisting in common the warmaker." (Norman Angell, *Preface to Peace*, p. 253.)

Most of Norman Angell's book is devoted to proving the need for this system of "collective defense", as the most actual barrier against the war instigators.

In all his previous books, written over a period of almost thirty years, Norman Angell has constantly appealed to the "reasonableness" of capitalist governments, tried to persuade the capitalists that war is inexpedient and unprofitable. But the acuteness of the present pre-war situation has compelled Norman Angell to change his line in this respect also; in his last book he appeals to the "plain man", to the rank and file, John Smith, to each one of the millions of people who are menaced by a new world slaughter. Norman Angell displays considerable ability in the art of writing popularly, adapting all his arguments to the level of understanding of the most poorly qualified reader. It is this extreme simplicity of style which, to a considerable extent, explains the success of the book, the first edition of which was sold out in a month.

And, indeed, any John Smith can understand and feel, for example, the short, simple characterization of the world economic crisis as given by Norman Angell.

"Brazil burns coffee, Canada burns wheat, but neither burns the coal of the British miner, who goes without both the coffee and the wheat." (*Ibid*, p. 180.)

The miserable position of the masses in so-called peace times is to a considerable extent, as Norman Angell explains, conditioned by the fact that in peace times, the economics of capitalist countries are already subordinated to war aims.

Norman Angell further tells how the prospects of world war signify the perspective of the further fascization of capitalist states:

"The type of national organization most fitted to wage war, which must inevitably be brought into being if the competition in war-waging capacity is to continue, is the totalitarian type, alike on its economic and moral side." (*Ibid*, p. 57.)

Fascism is war. Norman Angell, who immediately after the World War defended Germany, the victim of imperialist Versailles, and foretold that the Versailles robbery was fraught with economic and military complications for Europe in the future, now (unlike the other pacifists in principle" who in fact justify the arming of Germany under the pretext of the need for revising Versailles), condemns fascist Germany as a war instigator which is striving to force a new system of rapacious agreements upon the world:

"The Germans if victorious won't make a better treaty than that of Versailles; they will make a worse." (*Ibid*, p. 171.)

While defending the system of collective security as a real means of fighting against war, Norman Angell at the same time does not by any means defend existing boundaries at all.

"Our collective guarantees do not guarantee the status quo; they guarantee that the status quo shall not be changed by war. This is a vital difference." (*Ibid.*, p. 269.)

Many of the theses of the author of the *Preface to Peace* are fully acceptable to revolutionary workers engaged in the struggle for peace. But alongside the correct ideas which are proof of the positive evolution of the view of the author, the book is not free from several survivals of his old pacifist ideology which may objectively be used by violators of the peace for their own ends.

In his previous works, particularly in *The Great Illusion*, Norman Angell stubbornly strove to prove that war is actually only a product of human stupidity and short-sightedness, that it is advantageous only "to an infinitely small group of capitalists", and disadvantageous "to the entire nation", including the capitalist class as a whole, for the wealth of a nation does not consist in its territorial conquests, but in well-organized and profitable foreign trade. This conception which undoubtedly has its roots in the actual interests of a definite section of the English bourgeoisie has sown harmful illusions, since it has hidden from the toilers the true culprits guilty of making war, and concealed the true causes of imperialist wars from the masses.

Norman Angell has not given up this harmful conception even now. What is more, he now "proves it" by the experience of the post-war period. Since the World War did not safeguard the victorious countries from crisis, unemployment and economic chaos, is it not clear that war is of no more advantage to the capitalist class as a whole than, say, a big fire in London which would set right the affairs of certain magnates of the building industry.

Norman Angell starts from a wrong idea of the harmony of interests of the ruling class and "the whole nation". It is true that the war which enriched the capitalist robbers brought great misery to the toilers not only of the defeated countries but also of the victorious countries, and what is of advantage to this handful of plunderers is disadvantageous and disastrous to the overwhelming majority of the people. But all that is obvious from this is that the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people are directly opposed to the interests of the class (and not only "an infinitely small group") for which war is an advantage. And so Norman Angell is absolutely wrong when, he declares, without thinking that "the ordinary man" is to blame for war:

"In the last analysis war is caused, not by governments, nor capitalists, nor armament manufacturers, nor by nature, nor by fate, nor by accident, but by men: the average human being, the man in the street. It takes place, not because the average man wants it, he does not; nor from any particularly evil motive on his part, his motives are usually of the best; but be-

cause men in the mass—the mass who in parliamentary countries make or unmake governments—insist on policies (particularly policies of defense and those inherent in unqualified nationalism) the intention behind which may be peaceful enough, but the result, the inevitable result of which, is war.

"This does not mean that armament manufacturers or other capitalist groups have no interest in war and may not intrigue actively to promote it, nor that it is not useful to expose their intrigues, but that they would be impotent for mischief were it not for the willing acquiescence of the average man in policies and ideas which serve their evil purpose. The 'arms racket' is an evil thing, and needs exposure,* but it would be powerless if it were not for the ease with which John Smith can be persuaded to vote for policies which necessarily mean ever-increasing armaments.

"When we are told that fifty munition makers 'force' fifty millions or five hundred millions to go to war, the words are meaningless. Fifty cannot 'force' fifty millions; the force, the overwhelming force, is on the side of the millions." (*Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.)

But why is it, nevertheless, that millions of toilers are obedient to hundreds of capitalists directly interested in war? Norman Angell gets to mention that these hundreds of capitalists have control of state power, the army, the police, the courts and the press, that they have in their hands a mighty apparatus which allows them to control the masses, to sow illusions along them and that in this apparatus the least role is played by some subjectively honest advocates of peace, who in spite of themselves, hold back millions of "ordinary people" from the class struggles.

Norman Angell considers himself to be an opponent of imperialism. Why, then, does he justify the colonial policy of British imperialism by declaring that the relations which exist between the different parts of the British Empire may well serve as an example for the whole world of a federative organization of states? Why is it that his plan of collective security, as the above quotation shows, he makes the characteristic reservation about it being necessary for "civilized nations" to take part in it? How can we reconcile this tolerant attitude to the colonial expansion of his *own*, British, imperialism with his struggle against the robber adventure of *Italian* imperialism in Ethiopia?

And, finally, when Norman Angell deals with the international relations interested in maintaining peace he cursorily mentions only the Soviet Union among all the other states.

However pacifistic the sentiments of John Smith, for whom the book was written—the Lancashire textile worker, the Sheffield metal worker, or the London clerk—he understands that it is precisely thanks to the peace policy of the Soviet Union that it has been possible up to now to avert imperialist war. And if he, John Smith, during the recent

And this present writer, for one, trusts that what the Senate inquiry into the arms has been doing for America will be duplicated in some form for Great Britain.

peace plebiscite cast his vote in favor of the League of Nations, it was to no small degree because the League, which the Soviet Union has joined now, inspires him with more confidence in it. If John Smith voted in favor of applying sanctions towards the aggressor, it was to no small degree because the Soviet Union in its foreign policy is striving to carry out the principle of joint defense against the aggressor. And if Norman Angell has forgotten how the Soviet Union, from the tribunal of international conferences, has been fighting for universal disarmament, how it has patiently and worthily repulsed the innumerable acts of provocation on the part of the warmongers, from whatever country these provocations have come, very many rank and file John Smiths at any rate remember this quite well, and understand that a real struggle for peace is out of the question without active and unconditional support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

Whither does Norman Angell want to lead the "ordinary men" with the help of his "guide"? The tendencies in his book are contradictory. First, he points out the right road to John Smith, and then leads him away from that road. He is right when he emphasizes the need for sanctions against the aggressor; he is also right when he says that the question as to whether there will be a new world war or not depends upon millions of "ordinary men". But by avoiding the question as to why it is that the war instigators have as yet been successful in inflicting their will upon the millions, he does not give any reply to the question as to *how* John Smith can and should influence international politics, how, *in spite* of the war instigators, he can realize his own desire for peace.

Norman Angell lays great hopes upon the League of Nations. But with the exception of the Soviet Union, capitalist states are represented in the League of Nations. Even though many of these governments are not interested in war today, can honest supporters of peace rely upon these capitalist governments *alone*? Obviously not. Even Norman Angell himself admits this, otherwise he would not appeal to the millions of "ordinary men". But how must these millions act?

Norman Angell's book was written several months ago. During the time which has passed since then, many sincere opponents of war have learned much by their own experiences, and possibly Norman Angell himself has learned much also.

The pacifistically-inclined toilers in different countries are, on the basis of their own experiences, coming more and more close to an understanding of the fact that the decisive factor in the struggle against war is their own mass action, directed against the concrete violators of peace. Without mass actions of this kind, the opponents of war will not be able to force the League of Nations to take real action against the aggressor; without independent mass action of this kind, they will not really be able to stop the war which is being conducted at the present time. Only international unity of action by the toilers who are supporters of peace is in a position to save mankind from the horrors of a new world slaughter.

"Our English Friends"

Reviewed by L. SCHIEFF

ELESIO INTERLANDI, the author of the pamphlet *Our English Friends*,* sets himself the special task of refuting all the arguments of the British press which condemn the Italian adventure, and in the process expresses quite a few bitter truths to Italian fascism.

Running like a red thread through the entire seventy-two pages of this highly vitriolic pamphlet, there is the one thought that throughout the entire history British imperialism to a far greater extent deserved the reproaches which are now being leveled by the British press against fascist Italy for its attack on Ethiopia.

In the first chapter the author reminds the British colonial politicians of all the horrors of the Anglo-Boer War, when the British General Smuts starved tens of thousands of men, women and children to death in concentration camps. Thus, the fascist author warns the English imperialists against the use of arguments against the Italian plans of conquering Ethiopia which may be directed against themselves. Interlandi raises the curtain a little here. It appears that the Italian thesis, to the effect that Italy is in duty bound to liberate the Ethiopians from slavery, is only intended for the wide masses of the people. But in the pamphlet (which costs 5 lire—almost equal to the daily wages of a considerable section of the Italian workers) "more serious" arguments must be used so as to make the educated middle classes, for whom this pamphlet is chiefly intended, immune to the arguments and reproaches used by the British press. Therefore the author very openly finishes this chapter with the following words:

"The glory of the British colonizers rests on whole mountains of human skeletons, and we know the origin of the red color which covers the 'Union Jack' in purple."

In short, British imperialism has stepped over mountains of corpses and therefore it does not become it to reproach us if we behave in a similar way.

The second chapter is devoted to refuting the assertions made by the British papers to the effect that the Italian troops did not cover themselves with military glory either during the Ethiopian war of 1935, or during the war in Libya, still less during the World War. The author finds it difficult to find proof of the opposite. He dodges this and that, at one point seizing on the Boer War and reminding the Britishers how they had to fight, three against one, against the Boers, and even then only achieved their aims with difficulty. At another point he reminds the Britishers how, during the Boxer Rebellion in China, Italian troops robbed the summer palace close to Peking and then razed the ground. Characteristic of this chapter is the fact that it shows

* *Our English Friends*, by Telesio Interlandi, published by Cremonese, Rome.

how a weaker and less successful bandit exposes the foulest deeds of another bandit.

In chapter four, the fascist author continues to denounce the shameful behavior of British imperialism with a view of showing Italy's "rights" to colonial robbery. At the beginning he once again calls to mind the above-mentioned "heroic deeds" of the Britishers during the Boer War, and the war on China, and during the conquest of Egypt and India. Interlandi completes this list by calling to mind the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 when the British fleet, although war had not been declared, transformed a city which at that time was one of the biggest in Europe into a heap of ruins. And then the author makes the statement that "A powerful people may act by force, but not be hypocritical".

In other words, Italian fascism is prepared to commit the same kind of shameful act of violence as the author at this point accuses the English of being guilty, except that he makes an open declaration of his intention of doing so and herein lies his moral superiority over the English. This, at least, is what the author says, in this way settling accounts with British imperialism.

The remaining five chapters are fundamentally a statement of the British accusations and the Italian replies. The author is an Italian who without the slightest embarrassment is prepared to display the darkest sides of British history one after the other. The last quotation which he adduces to prove the right of Italian imperialism to seize and rob another country (for did not the Britishers behave in exactly the same way) is the declaration made by Sir William Joynson-Hicks regarding British policy in India.

"We won India not so as to raise the standard of living of the population. This is incorrect. We conquered India so as to make it a market for British goods. We conquered India by force of arms and by force of arms we shall hold it."

This is meant to indicate that the Italians wish to conquer Ethiopia by force of arms so as to establish a market there for Italian goods.

All the wisdom of the fascist author is exhausted in this recognition, in all this argumentation which tries to prove that Italian imperialism has the right to commit the same kind of atrocities as did British imperialism. This is at sharp variance with the main line of the official reasons advanced by Italian propaganda to justify the Ethiopian war. This contradicts the assertion that Italy wants to civilize Ethiopia and to alter the slave system in existence there. But, of course, assertions regarding the civilizing role of Italy in Ethiopia are produced for the "ordinary man" so as to compel him to go to war, and to fill him with the illusion that he is fighting in the African deserts for some high ideals. But in a narrow circle of people, for the book under review can only be reached by few people, the imperialists talk to one another quite openly. And by this openness they wish to rouse in the Italian small and petty bourgeoisie, for whom this book is intended, an appetite for a colonial empire, such as England is or at least was.

This is a page out of the venomous broth prepared in the cauldron of Italian fascism.

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